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ABSTRACT

The final report of a research effort, interracial and multidisciplinary in nature and designed to deal with the politics of change in professional systems, outlines a) a diagnosis of American high schools and consequent change strategies, b) its goals and objectives, c) program outcomes, and d) issues facing the Educational Change Team and others engaged in controversial aspects of school change. The Team conducted basic research to discover, document and illuminate the issues of racism and control of youth which appear as the major institutional conditions leading to educational failure and political crisis in schools. It also conducted a variety of developmental programs to generate alternative models of aspects of secondary education and to design new materials and resources helpful in the change process. A series of regional consultant teams were identified and trained to provide direct assistance to school systems in crisis (Network on Educational Unrest). Further, the ECT trained groups of students, teachers, administrators, and community members in new ways of dealing with school conflicts, and created and disseminated various materials pertinent to school crisis and change. Relevant publications available by or from the ECT, a bibliography of school conflict and change, and a list of Team staff members are included in the report. (Author/KSM)

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July, 1972
School of Education
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Ann Arbor, Michigan

Bob -
Here is the final copy.
Thanks very much for
your help on earlier
drafts. See you.
Mark

The Educational Change Team
An effort to develop a National Facility
to generate and implement information and
resources relevant to secondary school crisis
and change

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Abstract

The Educational Change Team (E.C.T.) was funded primarily by the United States Office of Education from March, 1970 to April, 1972. A 6 months grant to plan a three year program of action, research and development activities was followed by one year's funding to create a "National Facility to Generate and Implement Information and Resources Relevant to Secondary School Crisis and Change." The second and third years of this design never were funded; an extension and terminal grant was made. ECT's program received complementary support from the Ford Foundation and the National Institutes of Mental Health.

The final report of the Educational Change Team outlines (a) its diagnosis of American high schools and consequent change strategies, (b) its goals and objectives, (c) program outcomes, and (d) issues facing the Team and others engaged in controversial aspects of school change. Racism and the control of youth appear as the major institutional conditions leading to educational failure and political crisis in schools. The Team conducted basic research to discover, document and illuminate these issues. It also conducted a variety of developmental programs to generate alternative models of aspects of secondary education, and to design new materials and resources helpful in the process of change. A series of regional consultant teams were identified and trained to provide direct assistance to school systems in crisis (Network on Educational Unrest). Further, the ECT trained groups of students, teachers, administrators and community members in new ways of dealing with basic school conflicts, and created and disseminated various materials relevant to school crisis and change.

Final Report

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(and portions of)

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The Educational Change Team

An effort to develop a National Facility
to generate and implement information and
resources relevant to secondary school crisis
and change

The final report of an interracial
multidisciplinary, action research effort
designed to deal with the politics of change in
professional systems

School of Education
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Ann Arbor, Michigan

July, 1972

The activities reported herein were performed primarily pursuant to a contract with the U.S. Office of Education, Department of Health, Educational and Welfare. Personnel undertaking such work are encouraged to express freely their professional judgments in the course of projects. Points of view expressed in this report do not, therefore, represent official policy or position of the U.S. Office of Education, or any individuals therein.

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Bureau of Research

Acknowledgments

The work described in this report is truly the combined efforts of the many staff members noted on pages 95-96. Members of community and educational systems throughout the nation constantly lent their expertise and commitment to the clarification of issues and the conduct of work described herein. Other reports of this work will, from time to time, appear in book and article form as the many products of the Team's efforts are finally completed. We are especially indebted to several readers of drafts of this report: Robert Fox, Dale Lake, Floyd Mann, and Art Thomas. From their own perspectives they added much to the Team throughout its history, and their suggestions and comments on this review of our work has helped make the report more timely, accurate and readable. To the victims of institutional racism and the control and oppression of youth, minority members and majority members, youth and adults, in all our educational systems this report, and our work, is dedicated.

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I. Introduction

The Educational Change Team (E.C.T.) was funded primarily by the United States Office of Education from March, 1970 to April, 1972. An initial 6 months grant was made in March, 1970 to plan a three year program of action, research and development activities designed to respond to secondary school crisis and unrest. After completion of the six months planning phase, the U.S. Office of Education granted ECT a year's funding (September, 1970 to October, 1971) to create a "National Facility to Generate and Implement Information and Resources Relevant to Secondary School Crisis and Change." The second and third years of this design never were funded; in October, 1971 an extension and terminal grant were made for 6 months to facilitate preparation of reports documenting our experience. ECT's program, covering a period of approximately 2 years, also received complementary support from the Ford Foundation and the National Institutes of Mental Health.

The early termination of USOE funds meant cessation of partially completed programs and forward progress; it also affected plans to fully diffuse and implement our programs and functions in other educational institutions. The Team has closed down most of its operations, but some research and development activities funded separately will continue for a few months.

Throughout ECT's 2 years the nature of the American educational system was examined through intensive research and intervention into life in public schools. Through close contact and collaboration with educators, parents, community organizers and students of a variety of social class and cultural backgrounds, ECT also gained confidence in its developing conceptualization and implementation of strategies to bring about school change. Team members often were frustrated by their own inadequacies and the resistance to change evidenced by many educators, parents, students and local and national policy makers. However, we also were enthusiastic and optimistic in hopes for the future. At times it seemed possible to change the trends in high schools from disruption and violence to reformation and increased quality education

for all students. This seemed possible if backed by a national effort from the U.S. Office of Education, with a clear diagnosis of high schools as well as options for change endorsed by local and national policy makers. Another essential component seemed to be a concerted push from educators, students, community organizers and educational consultants affiliated with the Team and like agencies. The closing of the first condition should not alter the relevance and importance of the second.

The following brief history of the Educational Change Team outlines the evolution of (a) its diagnosis of American high schools and consequent change strategies, (b) its goals and objectives, as well as changes in these patterns and programs over time, (c) program outcomes, and (d) issues facing ourselves and others engaged in school change. We hope this report may provide insights for others involved in the key problems of change in American education.

II. The School Scenario

Patterns of serious interracial and intergenerational conflict are common in high schools across the nation. Overt conflict and disruption in the conduct of school affairs are now commonplace and many schools are local foci for unresolved controversy, anger and despair. Frequently these conditions have led administrators to close schools and declare an educational crisis. Even where serious disruption has not occurred, alienation from learning and mutual distrust in one another have characterized interracial and intergenerational contact and interaction in many schools. Often the roots of these conflicts lie within the structure of the school itself; at other times they are rooted in, or promoted by, factors in the local and national community. The number and severity of such incidents publicizes the deep-seated failure of our schools.

In many communities white students and minority students or white educators and minority students are engaging in multiple forms of resistance, rejection or warfare. The racist structures of American education create and perpetuate these lines of social unrest. Our schools have inadequately served minority communities by failing to provide black students and brown students with the technical skills and social and economic opportunities garnered by most white, middle class students. The control of the educational profession by whites insures that some white interests are served, but that same control derogates black and brown and other minority interests to a secondary level. Professionalism, which carries with it an assumption of expertise steeped in tradition, promotes the dominant culture's values and traditions of expertise and achievement. Thus, educators do not see the schools' failures with minority students as the profession's problem, but rationalize it as the fault of students or parents.

Protests against white cultural coercion and the estrangement of minority students and communities from their schools often focus on key educational or political symbols. The absence of black and brown, poor or urban foci in the curriculum is a source of concern, as is the flag,

anthem, cheerleading system, student government, or other representation of the institution. The financial structure of local schooling also reflects the racist and class biases of public services, providing costly but unequal services to the poor and minority community. Staffing patterns and the attitudes of teachers and administrators indicate their inability or unwillingness to eradicate racism within the educational system. Students unprepared for intergroup association and constrained by racist educational structures, often act on the above concerns by fighting with each other. Thus, they attack the most accessible targets of cultural difference and conflict rather than the basic racist structures themselves.

There also are many examples of school disruptions which apparently are neither triggered by nor focussed on racism or racial relations. These phenomena, which are marked by confrontations between students and adults regardless of race, may be occurring in even greater, though less newsworthy, fashion. Many students chafe at the restrictive controls and narrow curriculum presented in school. The locus of authority in the hands of adult professionals has denied students any serious influence on the course of their schooling, and makes it hard for them to modify the school program to meet their own concerns. Petty regulations, coercive policies regarding style and fashion and fake student governance systems also reflect youth's exclusion from influential roles in high school.

These obvious symbols of exclusion and impotence are further exacerbated by the mutual distrust and sometimes disrespect and fear that characterize student-staff relations in many schools. Disatisfaction with the competence and concern of some faculty members, and the vitality of the instructional process, are other key issues. White staff members may be particularly out of touch with minority students, but they are often out of touch with white students as well. Faculties trained in isolated schools of education often find themselves frightened and anxious in the modern urban or suburban classroom. The organizational structures that force an overwhelming reliance on an adult, credentialed staff perpetuates patterns both of racism and of youth exclusion.

Although information on the larger scope of school crisis is incomplete, there are many indications that it is pervasive and continuing. Recent newspapers and magazines continue to report and wonder about student action and administrator reaction and protests and disruptions occur in cities and towns throughout the nation. Unlike the relatively contained crises on college campuses, public school outbursts often have engulfed whole communities in bitter and prolonged dispute. Some high schools have undergone a series of disruptions; particular buildings have had to close as many as three times over the course of a school year.

In many cases the crises at different schools take very similar forms. High schools are quite alike across the nation and youth are subject to fairly similar educational environs. To the degree that the mass media publicize student demands and tactics they help transmit information to student groups in many separate locales. We have here no isolated or temporary episode, but a fundamental reaction by youth to the defects of the institution society has established for their safekeeping and advancement.

Tension and disaffection in school takes many forms. The most visible and attention-getting ones involve the disruption and actual breakdown of order, or threat of breakdown, which results in school closings. Such overt disruption of school life undeniably represents a crisis. But the very definition of a crisis--by school administrators--in terms of the breakdown of "normal" day-to-day school operations is inimical to the broad understanding which might make imaginative and profound solutions come to the fore. For many students who experience racism, irrelevance, failure and even brutality in their school encounters, crises and disruptions have been a continuing part of their educational life. But apathetic failure or passive conforming seldom looks like a crisis to the faculty and administration. Only when these frustrations become collective and students escalate or explode the issues in threatening proportions do educational managers see a crisis. Thus, a comprehensive view and treatment of school "crises" necessitate a response to a variety of student, teacher, administrator and community frustrations.

Usually failure and frustration are not recognized until the common signs of crisis have already appeared—a boycott is underway, a school is closed or police are brought in, facilities are taken over, or youngsters and adults have been injured in fighting. By then, emotional turbulence and polarization of opinion have heightened the prior feelings of helplessness and fear or anger. Under such conditions it is hard to do anything but "cool" the crisis and restore order. This is exactly what is not needed in the long run; it is illusory to think that issues, energies and passions will then fade away.

It is our conviction that a more useful perspective demands examination of the situation to locate forces that can be mobilized, encouraged and organized for meaningful change in school. Our perspective on school crises is to see them not as threats but as opportunities, opportunities to acknowledge failure, to take stock, to mobilize new resources and to begin meaningful although overdue school change programs. While a crisis often generates panic and repression, skilled interventions may help create more imaginative responses and effective changes in schools.

The maintenance of order without recognition of the inevitability of differences and conflicts is impossible in a complex heterogeneous institution. Conflicts between various groups in school are natural and normal; they are an inevitable result of the nature of different interests, values, group characteristics, etc., and usually represent differences in group goals and roles. They are also the result of a school's interaction with a rapidly changing society, and the strains and pressures that result from such interdependence. Even a well managed high quality educational organization can expect differing priorities and preferences between professionals and lay persons, teachers and administrators, educators and students, blacks and browns and whites, college bound students and non-college bound students, etc. Sometimes groups with differing priorities and conflicts form coalitions and collaborate with one another successfully. At other times and places, and with certain issues, the normal and healthy conflict among such groups begins to create serious personal or organizational stress. The inability of different groups and the school organization to accept

and articulate natural conflicts, and the inadequate means for coping with them, leads to system overload and potential breakdown. When established procedures are able no longer to adjudicate different interests or handle strong stress, the system may break down and a state of crisis said to exist. The crisis or breakdown itself is only a symptom of system stress; for healthy organizational change conflicting groups must be aware of each others' demands, and make room for compromises, and must be able to negotiate or unilaterally implement change.

These observations have profound implications for any future change attempts. Many change efforts assume that if organizational members understood each others' needs and could communicate with one another, the problems of inefficiency and satisfaction would be resolved. However, this "consensus" orientation to organizational life fails to deal with important and legitimate differences in group goals. It is falsely assumed that clarity will lead to agreement and to universal dedication to the organization's mission. Since our experience indicates inherent conflict between many organizational groups, we have come to believe that while open communication may be healthy, it does not resolve differences or conflicts. In some cases it may even intensify them. In our view, it is necessary to enable different groups in schools to organize and to express their interests clearly and emphatically, so that they can apply pressure and negotiate with other groups for the betterment of their common life.

The prevailing consensus of good work and satisfaction keeps many managers blind to real dilemmas in their organizations. Thus most school systems, and indeed most social organizations, are not prone to undertake meaningful change without new pressures or obvious conflicts of some sort. In recent years student-generated, minority-led or community-initiated protest and disruption have created substantial movement for change in our public schools. They have also created panic, fear, anger and oppression on the part of some adults, educators and students. Crisis and pressure may contain the seeds for change, but positive change does not necessarily follow; retreat or repression are as likely. Part of our concern is to help students and adults, majority members and minority members, discover how to make

use of their disaffection to inhibit oppression and injustice, to eradicate racism, and to attain a higher quality educational system.

A response to crises as opportunities for beginning meaningful educational change may lead to longer range change designs of a fundamental character. But if crisis in schools is to be seen as an opening to meaningful educational change then three strategic perspectives (and attendant models and techniques) should be developed and employed sequentially. These perspectives are immediate alternatives in crisis, middle-range strategies for school change and long-range models of change. Our view of change is that within each time perspective plural approaches are necessary: different goals, strategies and models are relevant for different circumstances.

It is crucial that short range alternatives exist to guide productive responses in the midst of crisis. Highly charged feelings of anger and threat, righteousness and terror confound all parties' intent for school change. Interventions into school crisis should aim at the stabilization or reduction of escalating tensions so that attention can be paid to underlying issues. All immediate efforts must be followed by plans for and progress toward continuing change and reform. Otherwise, crisis reduction without ongoing change fails to address continuing problems in school structures and operations. Interventions in the midst of crisis hold the beginnings of meaningful change, but all too often such beginnings come to an end with the reduction of crisis and the press of daily routine. It is essential, therefore, that post-crisis perspectives, strategies and models of middle and long range change be developed more fully and implemented rapidly.

Middle range strategies may have staying power over time and hold promise for the initiation of fundamental change in schools. The aim in these strategies is not the de-escalation of tension nor the initiation of dialogue, but rather the creation or utilization of new resources and structures. Common examples include workshops and training sessions that teach new problem-solving skills, techniques of organizing student and community groups, teacher or administrator retraining programs, and classroom or organizational substance and procedures that encourage greater reciprocal influence among all parties

within and without the school. So, too, are measures that may raise the awareness of racism present in students, staff and school operations and that can begin to counter its institutional impact.

Long range strategies are based on images of possible and desirable future models of educational systems. These strategies require fundamental change in schools but they also hold the promise of major increases in educational quality and community growth. Many of these models and strategies are yet to be fully conceptualized and developed, but some important examples follow:

1. New systems of values and organization which eliminate racism in financing, in staff selection and training, in school organization and operation, in curriculum and instruction and in peer interaction.
2. New internal decision-making structures in which students, faculty and local administrators have more direct control over management of their common life. As well, new patterns of external community influence so greater community resources can be available to the school, and vice versa. These innovations also call for retraining participants for their new roles and creating new representational systems.
3. Revision of the secondary school curricula so it may be a positive element in the creation of new learning systems. This demands curricula for the needs of a wider variety of students than are now being effectively served, curricula open to more independent and flexible definition by individual students and faculty, curricula for teaching and learning about realities of race and ethnic relations, for dealing with the politics of school life and students' needs for training in change, and for more effectively linking life inside the school and life outside the school.
4. Development of new roles and the scrapping of some old roles in order that the learning system can be fundamentally alerted. This demands rearranging time and content priorities in order that learners can act as teachers of their peers, that teachers can act as co-learners, and that principals can act as educational leaders, etc.

5. Free schools or "counter" schools which operate outside of the traditional educational structure. By their example these systems can have major impact on typical schools.

The choice of immediate, middle or long range strategies to be used in a particular local situation is impossible to foretell in advance. That decision can best be made by local educators and their clients, perhaps assisted by various consultants. There is no single strategy that is automatically best or preferred.

This is the general diagnosis of current school conditions made by the Educational Change Team. It was our intention to re-examine, refine and further develop this analysis so it eventually could be shared in useful ways with educators and students. Further, we sought to create new resources that could clarify, support or apply alternative change strategies so the broadest possible repertoire could be available in local change efforts. Our designs to accomplish these objectives are discussed in the next chapter.

III. The General Objectives and Design of a National Facility...

The need to provide new ideas and human resources to school administrators, students, community members and other parties to school conflict is crucial. School systems are in vital need of new resources and expertise that will help them design and implement creative programs for educational change. The focus of aid to schools needs to be on changing underlying conditions of school life, not on merely stabilizing or reducing disruptive circumstances. In this context it is shortsighted to engage in typical procedures of making new ideas and resources available only to school administrators; they are, after all, only one of the several parties in conflict. School administrators need assistance, but so do faculties, students and members of the communities. Procedures and legitimacy must be developed for providing multiple service to these different parties, sometimes as they collaborate and sometimes as they conflict with one another.

Beginnings of the Facility

As a result of these views we suggested, in mid-1969, the establishment of a National Facility to provide information and resources relevant to secondary school crisis and change. The general objectives of the proposed Facility included:

1. The development of new insights, conceptual schemes, theories, hard data and empirical generalizations that help us understand the basic school conditions that underlie the phenomena of unrest and crisis. It is important to understand what dissatisfactions and grievances relate to wholesale disorder and crisis in school. Once developed, such information and perspectives can be disseminated to all parties involved in the high schools and educational policy-making in ways that are understandable to each of them.

2. The development and utilization of responses to crisis that can help a school move beyond fire-fighting to the design and implementation of basic changes. Administrative, faculty, community, student, police or agency responses that recognize underlying issues and promise to deal with them productively must be shared broadly with various parties. Schools seeking help in responding creatively to crisis must be provided the information and expertise to use new procedures.
3. The development of new forms of schooling that promise to avoid crisis by truly satisfying the human and educational needs and goals of students, and of the educators who serve them. In order to plan change programs it will be important to have some models or images of the goals and directions of preferred and more viable educational structures, training programs, curricular thrusts and the like. At this point it appears that new designs for school governance and instructional processes are the most vital priorities.
4. The development and utilization of coherent and reliable strategies for introducing and implementing changes dealing with basic discontent in high schools. School systems will need assistance in making changes. Information dissemination is clearly insufficient as an overall strategy; the human technology of organizational change requires a much more complex and situationally relevant set of tactics. Hence, consultant resources must be made available to aid school systems implement new ideas and strategies of organization and instruction. Help in making long term change, with new structures built into or replacing existing structures is especially essential; otherwise minor short-term alterations fade under the ordinary pressures of work at hand.
5. In order to provide service to schools new resources need to be developed and made available. Persons occupying key educator or student and community roles will need training, and in some cases retraining, and so will consultants providing service to schools.

It is clear that this was a tall order, perhaps too much to take on in a newly developed organization. Even if it could be accomplished we did not assume that the work of a single institution was likely to alter the entire face of American education on these dimensions. We conceived of the Facility's function in some of these areas as direct service, especially as they called for our unique skills in intervention, and research or dissemination. In this capacity we conducted programs with local school systems and community groups. In other areas we felt our role was to "prime the pump," and to feed findings, ideas and strategies into other agencies which had the capability to take on direct service roles with schools. Here we worked with Regional Educational Laboratories, Title IV Centers and National and State Agencies and Associations.

While the Team conceptualized institutional racism as a causative factor underlying high school crisis, we had not at the outset grasped its centrality and power as the major cause of overt unrest. The nature of white supremacy in the society, problems of socio-economic racism within local communities, and the character of institutional racism within schools had not been seen in the beginning as major priorities. Rather, organizational issues of power and conflict, staff training and competencies and student influence roles were seen originally as the dominant factors in unrest.

The Team was originally composed of 13 senior professionals (11 whites and 2 blacks), most of whom had Ph.D.'s in the social sciences or education, and all of whom had a tradition of professional autonomy and independence. Seven of the 13 had been members of the Center for Research on the Utilization of Scientific Knowledge (C.R.U.S.K.) at the University of Michigan's Institute for Social Research (I.S.R.). The major and growing concerns of these professionals, as they had worked on different but related projects, were focused in secondary schools across the country. As they exchanged experiences and findings from their various projects on school change, they discovered a commonality in their diagnoses of problems and their conceptualizations of change strategies. Over a period of 2 years prior to the USOE program these individuals had formed a core group of

social science investigators and change agents committed to sharing some basic conceptual orientations, to continue building more useable knowledge in this field, and to using resultant implications in action programs.

After preliminary discussions with USOE, a proposal for the establishment of a six months planning phase for the National Facility on High School Unrest was submitted to CRUSK and ISR. However, the academic research orientation and accompanying value biases of many of the key staff members of the Institute precluded conducting the planning and establishment of the National Facility under its auspices.* The major issues in this decision-making process appeared to be: 1) the action-developmental-research emphasis of our proposal vs. the traditional research emphasis within ISR; 2) the value-centric conception of social science built into our work vs. the traditional assumptions of value-neutrality in the social sciences held by ISR; 3) the particular conceptions of conflict and consensus that constituted our theoretical base for diagnosis and change vs. the more widely accepted conceptions of these issues within ISR; and 4) the size of our endeavor and the ISR staff's doubts about our ability to manage it effectively within traditional guidelines. The Institute's priorities and our own clearly were different; just how much variance could be tolerated within a major academic research institution seemed to be the main question. After 2 months of negotiation a decision was made by the ISR not to accept the proposal of the Educational Change Team and the potential contract with the USOE. As a result of further discussions within the University, the entire Educational Change Team was invited by the University's School of Education to pursue the activities outlined in the USOE proposal within that setting.

Events in the Initial 6 Month Planning Period**

The development and operation of a National Facility was conceived of in three major phases: a six month action/planning phase in which

*These issues are discussed in more detail in Chapter V and in forthcoming publications.

**A more elaborate report of the design, activities and conclusions of this period are presented in: Final Report: Planning Phase, National Facility to Generate and Implement Information Relevant to Secondary School Crisis and Change. Contract # OEC-0-70-3322. Ann Arbor, Michigan, School of Education, 1971

a clear model for such an operation was to be developed; a second phase of several years in which the Facility's design and program was to be implemented; and a final phase in which all the functions of the Facility were to be diffused to other relevant educational structures, with the Facility dissolved.

The primary purpose of Phase I, the first six months, was to plan how a Facility designed to fulfill these objectives could be organized and should operate, and what events, activities and programs it should conduct. This planning/developmental phase was not an abstract operation; a series of field events were conducted to provide vital information about the viability of specific programs. The evaluation of these experiences, the discovery and integration of further relevant knowledge about basic school conditions and change techniques, and the reflective consideration of experiences, goals and future designs were the key inputs into this planning/developmental phase.

During the first six months planning phase the Team quickly grew from the original 13 members to an interdisciplinary group of 25 social scientists, educators and organizers. Staff members included University faculty in the departments of sociology, psychology and education, several former high school teachers and a former principal of an inner city school, and several former Peace Corps volunteers and VISTA workers. A number of the staff were experienced educational consultants with backgrounds in organizational development and change, ongoing professional development programs for school personnel, and intervention into high school conflict and crisis.

The Team was concerned about racism and sexism; but not yet fully aware of its own practices. We were, however, beginning to perceive the racism issues in our own staff and operations. The senior black staff members on the Team were in constant contact with a number of powerful black and brown educators around the country. The Team's white leadership often was confronted by the input of these black and brown scholars and activists outside the Team whose support and collaboration were vital. It was pointed out that the principal links to funding agencies were white male professionals; that there were 11 white and 2 black senior staff members on the Team; and that white consultants

were being used to train powerful and skilled black educators in the South. It became obvious that the Team not only needed more black and brown input into its conceptualization of school crisis and change, but that it was practicing white racism in its own ignorance and habitual ways of going about its work.

The management of the Facility was concerned from the beginning with the integration of the human resources, monetary resources and professional activities of its own organization. In achieving this integration it was concerned with budgetary control, the human welfare and needs of members, and quality control. Of equal concern were the needs for growth in the organization's capability to understand and bring about educational change. One of the achievements of the Facility's six-month planning phase was the development and testing of the capability to make "hard-nosed" decisions with regard to these personal, professional and organizational matters.

The governance of the organization was achieved through the operation of a policy board, management group and decentralized administration. The policy board established the general operational guidelines within which the management group and sub-units functioned. This board was composed originally of all senior professional staff. After the 6 month planning period the board provided better representation and more complete integration by including representatives from junior staff and clerical staff roles. The management group had responsibility for the coordination and integration of the day to day operations of the Facility. Various staff members were held responsible for the conduct of each event, and they administered portions of the program with the management group's supervision.

The major activities of the Facility during the first six months were designed to test certain ideas about school research, diagnosis and change, to render some operational service, and to gather inputs for planning later programs. In addition, we wished to assess our staff skills and organizational structures, with a view toward making better personnel and managerial decisions. Consistent with these goals, and with the broader objectives of the Facility, the

following preliminary events were undertaken.*

1. Dissemination of diagnostic research, policy alternatives and skills relevant to conditions of school conflict and crisis, responses to crisis, and planning for educational change. One major mechanism was a series of 3 regional dissemination/training conferences designed to inform and prepare educators, students, community and agency personnel for work on these issues. Each of these events was co-sponsored or co-organized by a major educational agency. (See items 3, 7 and 11 in Figure 1). A second mechanism was a series of policy briefing conferences for key educational administrators. (See items 5 and 9) A third procedure was to attend conferences staged and sponsored by other agencies such as NEA, ASCD, Constitutional Rights Foundation, U.S. Office of Education, etc. The general reactions to these events indicated that educators felt our ideas were valuable, exciting and relevant. Our participation convinced us, however, that large conference formats were draining and inflammatory environs for dissemination, and not especially useful for the later implementation of ideas.
2. Dissemination and aid in the direct implementation of educational changes relevant to these ideas in a selected school system. In attempting to begin long-range change programs, we began testing the conditions for direct service and research in the Seattle Public School System. This start-up activity involved about 100 participants, including teachers, students, administrators and community representatives from three schools. (See item 8 in Figure 1) We were assisted by funds and personnel from the Washington Education Association, the Northwest Regional Education Laboratory and the Seattle School System. The immediate effects on the three schools did seem considerable: they were able to highlight and better define their own problems; they laid plans for certain important changes, and they began to organize themselves

*These events have been summarized in greater detail in Bryant, B. "Summary of events sponsored during the developmental phase of a National Facility on High School Unrest." Ann Arbor, Educational Change Team, 1970.

for internal school change. We were also pleased by the positive potential of multi-agency collaboration.

3. A critical element in our original ideas for the National Facility was the development of a plan for a national network of consultants who could respond to schools' calls for assistance. During the six months planning effort we were involved in two efforts related to the establishment of such a Network: 1) running a series of conferences whose major focus was on the screening, training and potential selection of consultants; and 2) the creation of a plan for the development of a Network. Each of several consultant preparation conferences was held prior to a dissemination conference so that we could not only train the consultants but also evaluate their work in the conference directly following. These efforts enabled us to select some network members as well as to test designs for the training of consultants. The first plan for the network emerged from the joint efforts of our staff, the aforementioned conferences, and consultations with a number of leading scholars and practitioners in the area of organizational change.
4. Retrieval Conferences were held where we collected and shared knowledge about secondary school crises and governance systems. The first was an in-house conference in which our staff discussed intensively the issues involved in school change as well as the plans for the first six months operation of the Facility. A crisis retrieval conference was held where scholars and practitioners from a variety of backgrounds engaged in dialogue on the themes and strategies involved in conflict, crisis and crisis utilization for quality educational change. A governance retrieval conference then brought together consultants and innovative educators from a variety of experimental schools to focus on new models of decision-making and organizational structures in secondary schools. (See items 1, 4, and 12 in Figure 1). The insights and knowledge gained from these conferences enabled us to conceptualize better our field operations as well as to lay the ground work for the retrieval and development activities proposed for the first operational year of the National Facility.

FIGURE I

SUMMARY OF CONFERENCES CONDUCTED DURING PLANNING PHASE OF NATIONAL FACILITY:
APRIL-SEPTEMBER 1970

<u>Subject</u>	<u>Location and Date</u>	<u>Cooperating Agencies</u>	<u>Participants</u>
1. In House Retrieval	Ann Arbor (April)	None	Entire staff of facility
2. Consultant Preparation for DT #1	Ann Arbor (May 13-14)	Wayne County Intermediate School District	High school students and adult consultants (10 people)
3. Dissemination/Training #1 (Midwest)	Detroit (May 15-16)	Great Cities Research Council, Michigan State Department of Education	Local administrators and State Dept. personnel from 8 states and 11 cities in midwest (50 people)
4. Crisis Retrieval	Ann Arbor (June 3-5)	None	National group of experts in race relations, conflict and change in schools (20 people)
5. Citizenship Education Conference of N.Y. State Education Dept.	Glenn Falls, N.Y. (June 11-13)	N.Y. State Education Dept.	Associate Commissioners, Division Directors, Curriculum Specialists, (20 people)
6. Change Agent Workshop (consultant preparation for DT #2) Follow-up in August	Seattle (June 11-13)	Washington Education Assoc. Seattle Public Schools, Northwest Regional Education Lab.	Administrators, teachers, high school students from Seattle (20 people)
7. Dissemination/Training #2 (Northwest)	Seattle (June 14-16)	NWREL	Community organizers, administrators students, community members from 3 N.W. states (20 people)
8. System Training	Seattle (June 18-21)	W.E.A., Seattle Public Schools, NWREL	H.S. students, teachers, administrators, central office staff, community people from 3 high schools (50 people)
9. Policy Briefing	Wash., D.C., etc. (August)	USOE, Department of Justice, NEA Officers	Agency leaders
10. Consultant preparation for DT #3	Atlanta (Sept. 10-12)	Title IV Centers of Georgia and Florida	Educators from Georgia and Florida (15 people)
11. Dissemination/Training #3 (Southeast)	Atlanta (Sept. 12-15)	Title IV Centers of Georgia and Florida	Teams from 7 Georgia and 7 Florida high schools (3 students, 3 teachers and 1 principal per team - 100 people)
12. Governance Retrieval	Ann Arbor (Sept. 18-21)	None	National group of educators and students creating or participating in schools which stress student involvement in governance (20 people)

In addition to these events the work of the first 6 months also included the following activities:

5. Building effective institutional links to the USOE and to other educational organizations and agencies. Through a variety of contacts with local, regional and national educational agencies, we were integrated into an informal national dissemination system.
6. Documenting in detail all activities of the planning phase. On the basis of conference observations, post conference response questionnaires and interviews with participants and staff, we were able to record and evaluate the above activities. Evaluations were reviewed by the management group and used to assess and exert control over the quality of staff performance. Each activity was summarized in a report prepared for participants and included as part of our phase 1 report to USOE. Further, these materials have been integrated into other writings prepared by the Team.
7. Building a team of applied social scientists and educators who could effectively implement a three-year plan for the National Facility. This involved orientation and training of staff, initial development of internal governance and management systems, and linkage to relevant units in the university.

The program design for the first operational year then was established.

Operational Design for the National Facility

The Facility's plan consisted of three major components: 1) an action-field component composed of an intervention network of consultant teams who could respond to schools' requests for assistance (Network on Educational Unrest), and a dissemination apparatus to inform many groups of the above issues; 2) a retrieval and development component which could gather and interpret research and experience with needed analyses, models and strategies for change; and 3) a managerial component to provide direction and monitoring as well as evaluation. It was also considered vital, although funded separately,

to establish a basic research component that could gather and integrate data regarding conditions in schools. Additional developmental activities funded through other sources sought to prepare special training designs for future action needs. Summaries of the plans and accomplishments for all components are presented in Figure 2.

Action-Field Component

The purpose of an intervention network was to provide a national capability to respond to requests for help from schools facing conflict and crisis. The general function was to create groups of skilled consultants who could intervene in the midst of school crisis with resources that could point a system toward constructive changes in working relations, organizational climates and structures, and learning processes. In some cases, we expected consultants to work in schools that had not yet experienced severe crisis, but we anticipated that most requests from schools would come during or after disruptions. In all cases, consultant efforts were to be focused jointly on momentary conflicts and on the underlying roots and causes of the general state of crisis. We were convinced that although the form of entry might vary, the term of relationship would extend over time. One-shot interventions did not seem to hold much promise, and longer term consultations seemed vital.

The design for a Network first called for identifying and screening members of a new class of educational and community change-agents who could work for several parties' interests in quality education. Our plan was to develop regional teams which would include persons with diverse backgrounds, skills and styles. In this way they could help each other and local schools develop and utilize a wide range of strategies for change. It was our expectation that some network members would be skilled in traditional styles of organizational development in schools. Others might come from a history of community organizing and be self-conscious advocates of the needs of minority groups. Still others we hoped would be innovative and powerful members of the educational system who carried with them new ideas and organizational legitimacy. Racial and age mixes, as well as the integration of diverse consultant styles was a key objective for these teams.

FIGURE 2

PROPOSED PROGRAMS AND ACCOMPLISHMENTS OF THE EDUCATIONAL CHANGE TEAM:
FALL 1970-SPRING 1972

Funding agency and unit	<u>Proposed Program</u>	<u>Accomplishments</u>
USOE		
Network on Educational Unrest	Staff travel to different regions to identify potential consultants.	Trips made.
	Work with 5-10 core consultants to plan training events.	Core consultants (10-15) identified and invited to conferences to help plan Network and training events.
	Utilize heterogeneous mix of "advocates," "architects" and "innovators."	Teams selected in regional areas, and most have a mix of members by race, sex, status and role.
	Interview 30-50 potential trainees.	Assumptions on which training is based clarified and disseminated to team leaders.
	Train 30 trainees.	10 training events held throughout the nation training a total of 120 people in 7 regional teams. Thus linkage of core consultants to trainees is contin- ual since some of the former are team leaders. The regional leaders interview and select trainees for these events.
	Another major training event.	
	Link core consultants to trainees.	
	Operationalize to test the viability of the Network in several regions: referral systems service to schools follow-up regional training	Network staff used in dissemination events. Referral service has been ac- tive and regional teams or clusters of consultants have been of direct service to several schools.
	Document racial issues on an interracial consultant staff.	Done through documentation of training events and discussions in conceptual workgroups.

FIGURE 2
(continued)

Funding agency and unit	<u>Proposed Program</u>	<u>Accomplishments</u>
USOE Network on Educational Unrest (continued)		Newsletter mailed to 800 people. Brochure mailed to 4,000 people. Integrative summaries of training events in draft form. Small sessions held for several agencies, school systems and groups. Programs chaired at meetings of NEA, MEA, ASCD, AASSP, AERA. Many local and national conferences attended. Continuing contact maintained and visits made to facilitate locally generated change efforts. Bibliography compiled. Articles prepared and materials list distributed. Over 11,000 pieces mailed out to scientists, educators, lay persons in every region of the nation. Follow-up questionnaires sent to materials users. Each event documented. Coordinated entry and program in Denver schools. Under separate unit, design and entry also made to Detroit region for work with group involved in community control and teacher retraining. Survey, with ASCD, of 900 schools.
Dissemination	Policy briefing sessions for influentials. Staff appearances at agency conferences. Follow-up on DT 1, 2, 3. Distribute materials.	
Retrieval	Document goals and design of events and do follow-up survey of results. Locate, assess, negotiate entry to receptive system, and plan and conduct intervention. Retrieve information from schools having innovations.	

FIGURE 2
(continued)

Funding agency and unit	<u>Proposed Program</u>	<u>Accomplishments</u>
USOE Retrieval (continued)	Select 8 schools and study them with questionnaires, interviews, visits.	Selected and made extended visits to 6 schools with multiple instruments and plural staff.
	Analyze and synthesize structures.	Study done and book length manuscript completed and ready for publication.
	Comparative analysis of innovative and non-innovative schools.	Some included in above synthesis; other planned in connection with 3rd year of NIMH grant.
	Feed results into NEU. Identify key innovators.	Results and names of key persons shared at NEU training events and in several dissemination events.
	Multi-media documentation.	Some done, some schools wished not to do it.
Workgroup	Documents outlining state of knowledge in organizational change in education.	Group met, linked several organiza- tional units as planned, fed into designs for and interpretation of NEU and Retrieval activities especially.
		Several informal papers prepared and several formal articles written by staff members as a result of workgroup work. Both in-house and published examples include Chesler-Lohman, Bryant- Crowfoot, Chesler-Guskin, NEU assump- tions.
		Contribute to bibliography as well.

FIGURE 2
(continued)

Funding agency and unit	Proposed Program	Accomplishments
USOE		
Workgroup (continued)	Retrieval on race relations: in NEU in innovative schools Prepare racism materials for schools.	Race retrieval work done leading to papers for NEU, and appropriate sections of innovative schools' reports, as well as documenting the issues within the Team itself.
Documentation- evaluation	Systematic overview of activities. Retrieve content and process of events.	General overview done of Team. Reports of NEU conferences, dissemination events, etc. have been done within each unit.
	Feed into management.	Used as basis of final report. Used as part of monitoring activities by management.
Management	Budget control and approval.	Tight overall, although some slippage internally in decentralized accounting. Plans for each unit approved before they went too far, and constant monitoring.
	Quality control re: role fit and feed- backing. Human welfare and needs.	Feedback hard, personnel review process hard, too. Constant effort made to achieve balance among staff personal welfare, organizational tasks' needs and University approved procedures.
	Coordinate and integrate daily operations within general guidelines of the Policy Board. Unit interdependence (NEU, Retrieval, Dissemination, Documentation).	Integration made in crucial areas, but not worked well in general.
	Ombudsman	Not done. Policy Board representation system and caucuses seem to deal with issues.

FIGURE 2
(continued)

Funding agency and unit	<u>Proposed Program</u>	<u>Accomplishments</u>
USOE		
Management (continued)	Staff participate in growth and training events	On several occasions in several ways, both in-house and through outside agencies and conferences.
EXTENSION for training materials	Retrieve materials and write 2 training manuals and 1 resource manual in area of secondary school conflict and change.	Final drafts of all 3 manuals completed and now being reproduced for dissemination.

FIGURE 2
(continued)

<u>Funding agency and unit</u>	<u>Proposed Program</u>	<u>Accomplishments</u>
Ford Simulation	Develop, refine and test two new simulation exercises.	Bibliography prepared on simulation relevant to school conflict and change. Two new games designed, field tested, refined and used in NEU and dissemination events.
System change	Work with local school system as a model site for long-range organizational change.	Detailed report prepared for Foundation was abstracted in year end report in September, 1971. Re-entry attempted into Ann Arbor system.
Internship program (in 11/71 extended for another year)	Disseminate designs and evaluations of efforts. Link these efforts to NEU training Fellowships to support graduate students in training experiences with the Facility. Staff members work with them.	Diagnostic data collected, change effort designed, then local system decided not to go ahead. Report of unsuccessful entry made for Foundation and abstracted in year end report in September, 1971. Learning use still made of this unsuccessful effort. Several internships provided to staff members in 1970-71 who worked in various parts of the ECT: NIMH Research, Retrieval, Dissemination, NEU. Program extended in 1971-72 to several other students working in various units: NIMH, NEU, Dissemination.

FIGURE 2
(continued)

Funding agency and unit	<u>Proposed Program</u>	<u>Accomplishments</u>
Ford Internship program (in 11/71 extended for another year) (continued)	Link to other programs of an innovative sort at UM and elsewhere.	Liaison and input made to applied social science training programs in School of Education and School of Social Work at UM, and to several programs elsewhere. Paper being prepared in new ways of training graduate students in applied social sciences.

FIGURE 2
(continued)

Funding agency and unit	<u>Proposed Program</u>	<u>Accomplishments</u>
NIMH Research on Conflict in High Schools	Review literature and develop theory.	Working papers and hypotheses pre- pared, 1970-71.
	Select schools and arrange for their participation.	Sixteen schools with varying histories of conflict selected and their partic- ipation agreed upon, 1970-71.
	Design research instruments.	Questionnaires and interview schedules prepared for students, teachers and administrators, 1970-71.
	Perform quantitative and qualitative field work in schools.	Research teams visited each school for 4 days to gather data, 1970-71.
		Detailed qualitative case studies in each school prepared using interview and observational data, 1970-71.
		Data analysis plan prepared, questions reviewed with regard to missing data and response pattern and descriptive analysis of the relation of students, teachers and administrator developed, 1971-72.
	Provide feedback on data to 16 partici- pating schools.	Printed newsletter prepared for use with all schools as well as specific newsletter for each school. Hall posters prepared to interest students in the feedback, 1971-72.
	Disseminate descriptive findings.	Printed newsletters disseminated to a mailing list of 800 individuals through- out the country who are involved in high school change as community members or professionals. Findings fed into other units' work, 1971-72.

FIGURE 2
(continued)

Funding agency and unit	<u>Proposed Programs</u>	<u>Accomplishments</u>
NIMH		
Research on Conflict in High Schools (continued)	Collect further quantitative and qualitative data from schools.	Subsample of 10 of original 16 schools selected after review of their situation, new questionnaires and interview schedules prepared for students, teachers and adminis- trators. Research teams visited each school for 3 days to collect data and provide feedback, 1971-72.
	Code new data.	Computer files prepared for students, teachers and administrator's quantita- tive data, 1971-72.
	Analyze data in detail with com- parisons of two collection periods.	Funding not available to the project, 1972-73.*
	Prepare reports and articles on the research.	Brief final report prepared, 1971-72. Funding not available for 1972-73 for more elaborate reports.

*With the termination of USOE funds to the rest of the ECT, the University decided not to renew this NIMH grant for the third year. See final report of Grant R01 MH18014-01-02.

Once these consultants were identified, and once key people agreed to lead team efforts in regional areas, our design called for training members of these groups and continuing linkage to them during the year. Consultant members of such teams were to be engaged in the following activities:

As referral agents when local educators, students or communities call for help in crisis.

As intervenors and consultants to the partisan groups involved in a school crisis.

As consultants to schools not in crisis but attempting to deal with underlying conflicts to improve education.

As participants at conferences to share issues and suggestions regarding conflict intervention and school change designs.

As linkers to other educational agencies and institutions concerned with school change.

As collaborators at events to disseminate information and skills to agencies, schools, students and parents.

As senior members who train interns or junior network members.

As consultants to the Facility in helping to monitor its activities.

The Network's activities were conceived as spanning a three year period. During the first year the focus was on identifying and training Network members; organizing the Network in each of five national regions to accept referrals from schools requesting help, and to disseminate Facility products or programs; establishing linkages to other relevant centers of educational change; assembling experts and consultants for periodic work conferences; conducting evaluative research on salient issues; and documenting Network activities. The second year was designed to expand the Network by the establishment of regional training centers. In this period the regional teams were to become fully operational in seeking and responding to calls for intervention. Also planned for this phase

were evaluations of the effectiveness of the training programs and of the consultant interventions and educational changes made as a result of conflict and crisis intervention. During the third year, the Facility planned gradually to withdraw its financial and organizational resources as the Network became a series of autonomous and collaborating organizations.

All the component activities of the Facility were to be generating knowledge, skills and perspectives to feed into several dissemination mechanisms. We felt that the educational community at large--practitioners, students, consultants, public and private agency personnel and community members--needed to be informed about the issues and potentials for change. The wide dissemination of new perspectives on school conflict and crisis represented an important priority; it was felt that relevant information might help induce school change in advance of serious crises, and provide a wider repertoire of responses in the midst of a crisis.

Three primary mechanisms were established for sharing and disseminating the Facility's resources. Policy briefing sessions for target groups selected on the basis of their capacity to influence educational policy at various levels provided one mechanism. Some examples include meetings with the cabinet of a local school system, officers of a state department of education, leaders of a student movement, organizers of the black community, heads of a federal or professional educational agency, senior staff of a Regional Educational Laboratory, educational media corps of a city or region.

A second avenue was through presentations, demonstrations and other appearances at conferences convened by educational agencies or school systems. Meetings of national and regional professional groups, in-service training days in a local system, and city-wide school conferences represent examples of these activities.

A third means of dissemination was through the distribution of written materials. Although written materials alone were not expected to lead to change we felt they might help prepare the way for other efforts and even Network interventions. A variety of documents were to be developed and readied for dissemination upon request. The contents

of these materials included findings from our own and others' past research and action efforts, the results of current research and developmental operations, and our experiences with the Network.

Developmental Component

Our prior work in schools impressed upon us the need for new structures and new curricula for long range change in educational systems. Adequate study has not been made of the great variety of innovative ideas and experiments with new patterns of school governance and new curricular plans. Research that has been done has not been conceptualized adequately to provide scholars and educators with clear new ways of thinking about schools and school change. In order to plan programs to create better schools, it seemed imperative to develop some models or images of the goals and directions of preferred and more viable educational structures, training programs, curricular thrusts and the like.

For these reasons, we felt it imperative that the Facility make efforts at: 1) retrieving and developing models and examples of organizational and instructional innovation that existed in a number of experimental schools throughout the country; 2) conceptualizing organizational change processes in schools; and 3) conceptualizing the processes of racism, racial conflict and change. These developmental efforts were to be used in the Network's events or disseminated through other Facility mechanisms.

In the first year, we proposed to conduct a retrieval operation to examine selected operational innovations in school governance and curriculum as they related to the increased power of students, faculty and community members. We planned to select a limited number of schools attempting exciting innovations in this area, and visit them with an investigative staff. Documentations of these experiments, and details of the social and educational contexts within which they thrived or died, seemed sure to have relevance for other efforts at long range change in school governance and curricular processes. Of particular interest to us was the nature of the school's innovation; the process of its development; the organizational conditions, resources, and

strategies needed for its implementation and maintenance; and the effect of the innovation on participants' feelings about the quality of their education. Information gathered through such retrieval efforts would be fed into various efforts to conceptualize school change processes, and into the dissemination mechanisms noted earlier. They also would be shared with the growing national network of consultants, to be used as models for their own change strategies and goals.

The second major developmental activity was a continuing seminar or workgroup that would focus on conceptual problems or issues in our work. Most particularly, it was to integrate prior literature and our own experiences with regard to organizational change processes and racial conflict and change. A continuing workgroup appeared to be superior to the ad hoc efforts of individual staff members or the overlapping efforts of each sub-unit in retrieving and integrating such a mass of material. Work of this sort is usually bootlegged or moonlighted in one's spare time in action-oriented organizations, and we designed this particular unit to avoid that possibility and build conceptual development and advance into the normal work roles of several staff members. Organizational change seemed clear as a major strategy in all our change perspectives, and racism and racial relations was seen as a key factor in school unrest and crisis. It seemed these foci would be directly relevant to all the staff, consultants and clients.

Three other developmental activities were undertaken with the assistance of funds from the Ford Foundation. One of these sub-projects was designed to test certain concepts of school change in a particular school system over a substantial period of time. The development and implementation of new management systems, these operating in accord with new principles of participatory management, were to be utilized in a pilot program.

A second effort was designed to create several new training simulations that could be used to help persons learn about the dynamics of school crises and the processes of change. Several staff members planned to review the literature on available simulations and the needs for such devices in our own work. The events of the planning phase had

already demonstrated the need for new skills and for new ways of learning these skills. With this background they would be able to create new simulations relevant to our diagnoses of school issues and our needs for training materials. These new simulations would be used as training devices with Network teams and in direct work with school systems.

The third additional developmental activity was a program of internships for graduate students in the general area of applied social science. Thus, some students would be provided with financial support to work with and learn about our programs and approaches to social science and social change. A long range goal of this endeavor was to begin to develop alternative training programs for social science professionals, ones that could deal more clearly with the need for research skills and action skills in creating social change. In the short run, we planned to form liaisons with and exerted influence on other graduate programs in this general area throughout the University.

Research Component

It was planned that these field and developmental activities would be related closely to the major research component involving a study of 16 high schools experiencing varying degrees of crisis and conflict. This NIMH-funded study focussed on an organizational analysis of conditions in schools over time. Among the obvious foci of the study were: attitudes of students, teachers and principals toward each other and the school; collective grievances and goals of different parties; aspects of organizational structure and process; influences of racism and the role of students in school; predispositions for change. Further, it was expected that the team's diagnosis and the work group's ideas would be fed into the planning of this study and that data later available from the research analysis would be utilized by the developmental units and by the Network.

Management and Documentation of the Facility's Activities

Since the Facility was to be located within the University of Michigan, it was subject to the usual University and USOE priorities regarding management style and procedures. In order to stay within these guidelines, to insure a high quality operation, and to retain

our own priority for an organization that shared control with its constituencies and members, we planned the following managerial procedures.

A management team was created and led by two senior staff members, one black, one white, and was to be provided with a support staff. Their role was to be responsible for administrative coordination and supervision of all activities. In addition, they were to provide overall personnel, financial accounting and clerical services. Our prior experience convinced us of the necessity, however costly, of internal accounting and personnel procedures in addition to those provided by University offices. The management team was responsible for approving all financial expenditures, and for insuring that each unit followed its budget allocations. In addition, the management team was responsible for maintaining liaison with the University and the USOE.

The management team planned to establish a group composed of unit leaders, the senior staff members in charge of each of the separate activities described herein. By meeting and sharing information within this group it was hoped the management functions of the Facility could be widely owned and responsibility for them shared throughout the organization.

The management team, and indeed all the unit directors, were responsible to the overall governing body--the Policy Board. Members of each role group within our staff elected their own representatives to that Board--the senior staff of project directors had four representatives, assistant project directors one, assistants in research one and secretaries one. In addition, provision was made for the collectivity of minority members within the Team--The Black Caucus--and the Women's Caucus each to have one elected member if they wished. In our view this combination of status and political interest groupings had the best chance of checking and balancing the interests and priorities generated by different units and by the management team. The functions of this Board were to provide general policy direction for the Facility and the Educational Change Team, to supervise the administrative decisions of the management team, to oversee the general budget, and to hear individual or collective grievances about existing patterns and policies.

It was our view that the tightly coordinated management of a diverse operation of this sort would be a difficult task. Experience and research evidence suggest that scholars require considerable freedom in order to operate at top efficiency. At the same time, an organization devoted to an external social task or mission must operate in a coordinated manner. The management team sought to provide autonomy for varied units while at the same time requiring coordination across units that all obviously were interdependent with one another. Each unit also was required to submit a year long plan which would expand on the USOE proposal to detail the design for their operations. In this way, the management team would monitor and coordinate activities based on each unit's own statement of their plans. In all cases, however, we knew we would have to be aware of the experimental nature of all our activities, and the need to adapt and adjust to uncertainties as they occurred in schools or inside our own organization.

Management dilemmas also could be predicted with regard to problems of guiding and directing an action-research organization whose membership was quite diverse. The racial balance of the Facility staff was of concern, as were questions about what forms and procedures would be required to encourage collaboration among blacks, browns and whites on politically and racially relevant issues and activities. Similarly, the mix of University based scholars and field practitioners could be expected to present problems in interaction among persons having some very different life styles and commitments. All these issues could be seen as especially crucial in light of our interest in working with top flight consultants and activists in the field. Obviously they, too, could be expected to have priorities different from ours. From our point of view these were all important challenges. Without this diverse a staff we could see no way of being tuned to the myriad of issues in school unrest and change. Without working straightforwardly in our own organization on these issues we could not expect to have the experience nor the credentials to be useful to school people. But, the American society has not solved these problems in coordination and collaboration, and no one on our staff expected it would be easy to be innovative and relevant on these matters.

The management team also took responsibility for insuring effective and full documentation and evaluation of all the Facility's activities. Each unit was to prepare systematic documentation of all their events and the evaluation of their activities and events by both participants and staff. Significant parts of these reports were shared internally and disseminated to consultants and to school practitioners. Evaluations of work conducted directly in schools was to be facilitated by related research activities being conducted under the auspices of grants and contracts from NIMH and the Ford Foundation.

The type of documentation and evaluation efforts we envisioned occurring in the Facility included:

1. Documentation of the development of the Network. An important focus was to be on: providing increased knowledge concerning the processes, structures and problems that are involved in servicing emergent educational needs; assisting our own staff in solving operational problems in the Network; and evaluating the progress of the Network's development.
2. Documentation of Team dissemination activities. This was to include reports, descriptions, and assessments of such activities, and documentation of their goals, activities, problems and successes, as well as staff debriefings after major events.
3. The sophisticated evaluation of longer range change programs. As a result of Network or dissemination activities, we might be involved with specific schools or school systems over time. Quantitative and qualitative research methods developed in conjunction with the NIMH project, and other developmental activities, were to be used in this effort.
4. The developmental components of the Facility had built-in documentation and on-going research as part of their activities. In addition, efforts were to continue in the development of multi-media (films, tapes, etc.) documentaries of confrontations, critical issues, interviews of people on key issues, etc., that emerged from Facility activities.

To provide long-range aid in the tasks of Facility documentation and management we planned to conduct a self-study, a research project on our own developing program and process. This study would document and assess the problems and potentials in creating a multi-racial action-research project run along participatory lines. It was hoped that the findings from such a study would be useful to other scholars and activists engaged in similar programs.

IV. Program Outcomes

The objective of changing fundamental conditions in schools led us to place major emphasis on the development of teams of consultants useful in local educational settings. The theme running through all our efforts was the implementation of organizational change strategies: that is, working with the key parties—students, teachers, community and administrators—in schools to achieve restructuring and redirection of school practices. This multiple party approach requires the development of expertise and manpower legitimate to all these parties; it also requires considerable skill and knowledge regarding the most desirable strategies and tactics to be utilized and the specific objectives to be achieved in a particular school. Given the plurality in goals and values of the schools we sought to serve, it was especially important for us to have clarity about values and goals for change. The goals of the organizational change strategies we used became increasingly clear during the year; they focussed on the elimination of racism and the oppression of youth in schools.

Developmental projects and research efforts undertaken during the year sought to gather strategic information and highlight key issues in these areas. These activities were designed and timed to provide input to training events and dissemination programs. Action efforts likewise were designed to utilize this input in ways that might lead to better training programs and real change in schools.

Action-Field Work Component

The Network on Educational Unrest*

The Network on Educational Unrest (NEU) was designed as a national system of multi racial consultant teams prepared to respond to school conflict and crisis. Its basic purpose was to provide local help in making long term changes in the organizational climates, structures and

*The Network has also been described in a brochure, Network on Educational Unrest. Ann Arbor, Michigan, and in an article, "Conflict utilization: the Educational Change Team in action," Impact, 1972, 1, 41-49.

learning processes of high schools. During this first year the staff of NEU primarily was involved in selecting key consultant team leaders and in coordinating their efforts to create and train regional teams. These local teams, operating under the direction of team leaders, now constitute the beginning of a national response capability. The Network's regional teams are ready and have received requests for assistance from school systems, teachers, students and parents.

When a request for assistance comes to the National Facility it is discussed on the telephone with the requesting party and then referred to the regional team closest or having the most appropriate resources for that specific situation. The regional team director is then responsible for conducting further diagnoses, preliminary visits, and whatever financial and contractual arrangements seem most appropriate. In all cases he has a responsibility to report back the outcomes of the referral to the Network Director. In some cases the Facility itself has used general funds as seed monies to permit a regional Team to begin work in an impoverished system or with a financially strained component of a school system.

In some cases a regional team has reached out to other Teams for personnel to help them respond to a specific situation. Thus, the interchanges and training events that brought members of different teams together have had benefits in encouraging wide patterns of national collaboration. Network centers also have shared and disseminated information, ideas and programs with educational policy makers, scholarly groups, educational associations and school systems who feel the need for improved conditions.

Brochures announcing the Network's resources and availability were disseminated to a variety of educators, professional groups (AFT, NEA, NASSP) and non-professional groups across the country. This brochure included information on the goals and objectives of the Network, the kind of resources available, descriptions of training workshops, and names and addresses of regional directors. NEU's growing visibility and consequent requests for service indicate that its program is seen actually and potentially as helpful to educators and others concerned about alternatives in school change. Presently seven regional teams are ready to operate; team leaders are noted below.

Dr. Uvaldo Palomares, Director
Human Development and Training Institute
4455 Twain Avenue, Suite H
San Diego, California 92102
714/283-7144

Mr. Carroll Waymon, President
Institute for Social Systems Engineering
1956 Fifth Avenue
San Diego, California 92102
714/263-4491

Mr. Roberto Lopez, Director
Horizons Unlimited
3001 22nd Street
San Francisco, California 94110
415/285-2171

Mr. Julian Richardson, Director
540 McCallister
San Francisco, California
415/334-0543

Mr. Jesse Sangster, Director
1700 W. 3rd Street
Flint, Michigan 48503
313/766-9584

Dr. Arthur Thomas, Director
Center for the Study of Student Citizenship,
Rights and Responsibilities
1145 Germantown
Dayton, Ohio 45408
513/223-8228

Mr. Robert Simms, Executive Director
Community Relations Board
903 Metropolitan Justice Building
1351 N.W. 12th Street
Miami, Florida 33125
305/377-7171

Two teams were developed in both San Francisco and San Diego to respond to the need for both black-led and brown-led interventions in local and regional schools. In San Diego the black-led team and brown-led team are attempting to work as one; in San Francisco they are meeting separately as two teams although they are in contact with one another. Initial discussions for placement of teams in New York, Chicago, Houston and Washington were underway when the project was terminated.

All these teams were built upon an existing base of local community or agency resources. As such, they have a credibility and stability beyond that provided by our own work. Team leaders were selected on the basis of their demonstrated skill and experience in school and community change. They, in turn, selected team members who could work together in interracial change efforts. Selection was also based on assessments of individuals' experience with and skills in school change, and some fit between their values and perspectives and the assumptions on which the Network was based.

The Network staff, in conjunction with members of the Facility's Conceptual Workgroup, developed a series of assumptions that summarize our approach to school conflict and change.

Conflict is a normal part of relations between people of different races and ethnic groups, with different roles, backgrounds, goals, values, access to rewards, etc.

Conflict has many positive functions for organizations. It does so partly because its use identifies problems, illustrates directions of needed change and requires people who may otherwise ignore each other to deal with one another.

Schools are run as if conflict were abnormal, evil or non-existent. The suppression or denial of conflict denies the legitimacy of individual and group differences.

Students and teachers usually have different goals for their activities in school. Even people who share goals often have conflicts over the means to attain these goals.

When large numbers of students resent and distrust the control mechanisms employed by educational professionals, the effect is to undermine the collective and legitimate authority of the school.

Students' desires to control their own lives and to influence the behavior of others in order to make their demands heard and implemented are at the root of many protests and school disruptions.

Institutional racism is a major determinant of failure and crisis in schools.

White students are socialized and trained in public schools in ways that perpetuate racism in the society. Black and brown students are trained in ways that perpetuate white racism and white control. Institutional racism alienates white students and minority students from each other and from schools.

The political and economic interests of professionals support both institutional racism and adult control of youth in schools.

The educational process is the mechanism by which information, values and power are passed from one generation to the other, and is structured and operated in such a way as to select and prepare (socialize) those from the younger generation who will inherit and maintain this power.

Poor people and minority people's expression of their self-interests often are seen as aberrant by white middle class professionals and managers of social systems. What is necessary for the survival of poor people, minority people or the young is often seen as a threat to the comfort and power of the privileged.

In order for negotiated change to occur, contending groups must have equal power; if not legitimate power, then political crunch. A group cannot compromise unless it has something to give up.

Schools are a reflection of community priorities, problems and concerns. For schools to change in major ways require major changes in parts of the community or between the school and the community.

These assumptions were constantly discussed and reviewed during the year. The list was constantly checked with actual experience—our own and others, with recent writings about schools and school change, with analyses of institutional racism, with recent research reports, and with people working directly with schools and communities on issues of conflict and change. People who seriously disagreed with large portions of this list often seemed to us to be defensive about schools as they are, denying the fundamental nature of racism and oppression in schools, and unclear about goals for change. Not everyone working in the Network, or in all the regional teams, agreed with every statement. But these assumptions did provide a general conceptual framework within which all agreed to work.

In all attempts to recruit and organize regional teams, and in all training events and orientation conferences with regional teams, we shared this list and invited comments and discussion. In addition, regional training events usually included conceptually oriented sessions which stressed the use of theory and research in planning change strategies. These events also included skill building sessions,

where participants saw, felt and practiced intervention strategies and tactics. Brief descriptions of training programs NEU conducted with two regional teams are described below.

San Francisco

The first training session for the San Francisco regional team led by Roberto Lopez was held in San Mateo, California. Our central goals were to introduce and orient participants to the purpose of the NEU, and to our perspectives on and strategies for school conflict and change. The participants comprised Latin Americans, Chicanos and poor whites from the Mission area of San Francisco. Eight were adults and 5 were currently high school students. These people were all selected for NEU by Roberto Lopez, director of Horizons Unlimited, a community project working with students in the Mission area combating drug abuse, high school dropouts and other community problems. Thus the participants already had had some experience working together, and many of the difficult problems of melding a tightly knit team had been dealt with. Four NEU staff members led the training, assisted by three consultants from the San Francisco area: Mario Obledo, Mexican-American Legal Defense and Education Fund (MALDEF); Marcus Foster, superintendent of Oakland, California public schools; David Sanchez, San Francisco Board of Education.

The conference opened with a general introduction of the staff and participants and with an orientation to the Network's purpose and activities. This was followed by a film, "Education and the Mexican-American," which provided a common framework for the conference. The film dealt with an actual crisis situation that took place in the Los Angeles schools, where Chicano students walked out over conflict with the administration. The next day the NEU staff led a series of sessions involving simulated high school crises. Participants played roles of students, teachers, parents, administrators and the local press corps. The way the simulation was designed and played caused many of the dynamics of protest and crisis to be highlighted. Several participants were asked to play the role of consultant in this crisis situation. Problems of client identification and loyalty (to the principal, to the faculty, to the students, to which students among all students), of strategy (to walk out, to present grievances, to negotiate, to trust or not trust faculty), of one's own values and style (is this what they want or I want--who decides) were all dramatized and later discussed. In a later situation; the NEU staff participated in a structured role playing scene designed to illustrate some of the issues in making entry into a school system and in establishing an understanding and a contract for work to be done.

On the last day of the training conference several conceptual sessions were held. Dr. Bunyan Bryant, director of NEU, conducted a session on "Crisis, Conflict and Power." He spoke about specific concepts of crisis, conflict and power and the roles they play in bringing out basic and underlying issues in schools.

key point was that NEU, through understanding and using tension and power, can effect positive changes in educational systems. Mark Chesler then discussed aspects of the political environment of schools. He noted that business interests, municipal governments and various professional organizations play a role in deciding school policies. Any intervention effort must key into these sources of school policy-making if they are to be effective in the long run. In another session Mario Obledo of MALDEF spoke of court cases filed against several school systems where Chicano students have been involved. Desegregation and the removal of tracking systems and biased testing procedures have been their main goals. Obledo gave NEU possible resources they might obtain to implement the further training of the participants in the San Francisco conference. David Sanchez ended the conference with a talk on the political and educational issues involved in desegregation and busing of students in the San Francisco schools. He raised issues and suggested strategies especially pertinent for any change efforts conducted in the region.

The NEU staff administered a questionnaire at the culmination of the conference to obtain feedback on the training program. The participants stated they benefited most from question and answer periods in which fears and mistrust came out and were dealt with. It was apparent that they began the conference with many questions and suspicions about NEU "outsiders." Thus, it was brought out in the questionnaire that more than half the participants saw sharing information and describing the Network on Educational Unrest's (NEU's) concepts as one of the major goals of the conference. Many were surprised that they could learn by playing roles and games (simulations). They also got a clear idea of how NEU functions and the practical application and relevance of a power-conflict model of school change. Some stated that in follow-up events there should be a clearer picture of NEU's long term resources and plans for resource exchange. Almost everyone felt that the conference goals had been met and that they looked forward to another event.

Flint

The Flint regional team members were participants in two training events, one in Ann Arbor and the second 2 months

later in Flint, Michigan. Since the first conference had focussed on orienting participants to the Network and to our diagnosis of schools and school change efforts, the second aimed more directly at team building, at providing participants with intervention strategies, at working on skill development, at providing participants with an opportunity to apply learned strategies and skills. The participants of the conferences consisted of a mix of black-brown-white, male-female, students-adults--thirteen in all. The regional director for the Flint team and convenor of the event was Mr. Jesse Sangster, of the General Motors Institute of Technology. Mr. George Neely was the principal liaison from NEU.

Mr. Sangster opened the conference by introducing the staff and leading several exercises that helped team members get to know each others' values and priorities. Then he shared the conference design and members added to and specified their own goals. Norms of openness and commitment to work together developed throughout the conference and these contributed to meeting the goals of team building. One of the most effective techniques used in the training was a simulation that provided an opportunity for the development of skills in negotiations. Different groups had to present the priorities of students and adults, black and white, in school conflict and then seek to realize their priorities in a total group setting. A number of problems in group negotiation (pressing own goals or accepting larger and embracing goals, developing a base of power to negotiate from) a variety of needed skills (in constituency representation, in getting one's own priorities clear, in knowing how to compromise, in knowing an opponent's vulnerability) were highlighted in this manner.

The utilization of various simulation exercises gave participants an opportunity to do diagnosis and apply principles of strategy development. One of the primary learnings was the need for a type of longitudinal approach to strategy and diagnosis--what the situation is assessed to be at one time does not guarantee that the situation will be the same at another time, thereby necessitating amendments to strategy. Several conceptual inputs also were made in the attempt to provide a context and direction for strategies and tactics. Included in these presentations were ideas from Lewin's work on force field analyses and from Argyris' new work on intervention theory.

The conference ended with participants giving and receiving prescriptive feedback. The purpose of this feedback was to help identify areas individuals needed to work on in order to enhance their ability to work in school crisis.

Analysis of participants' responses to post-conference questionnaires indicated that the skills building practice

was most helpful. In particular, skills in goal setting and organizing negotiations appeared to be most highly valued. The participants reported they had ample opportunity to share their knowledge with others' knowledge. They also reported on the helpfulness and importance of becoming a team and learning about strategies of multiple party intervention into high school crises.

These two examples give some indication of the content and methods of the training programs for regional teams. Most training events were intense experiences for the staff and conferees; value searching, risk taking and testing commitment to change were common experiences constantly highlighted through simulations and intragroup confrontations. Equally as important was the content of training--the politics of school change, meanings of conflict and crisis, diagnoses and strategies for system intervention, court decisions and data about racism and student rights. We felt, and participants' reports indicate, that most regional events were helpful in increasing members' skills and that additional sessions should be forthcoming.

The team training events conducted by NEU involved over 120 people from varied statuses, occupations and ethnic backgrounds. The NEU staff conducted one event for some teams, 2 for others; a total of 10 regional training events were held. In addition, a separate event was held in Michigan for 20 of the white members of these regional teams. It was the regional directors' judgment, and our own, that whites often have special problems working in interracial efforts, and that the issues of racism, white roles in interracial schools, and white roles on minority controlled teams needed special attention. In addition to these training events, the regional team directors met on several occasions to plan activities, learn from each other, and keep operating as a coherent cooperative Network.

The following charts indicate the numbers of varied people involved in the 7 regional teams.

Racial Mix of Network

	Dayton	San Diego (2)	San Francisco	San Francisco	Miami	Flint	Total
Black	11	6	30	0	17	7	71
White	5	4	3	5	5	3	25
Brown	0	7	2	8	1	3	21
Oriental			3				3
TOTAL	16	17	38	13	23	13	120

These statistics indicate that regional directors were not in touch with many whites whom they felt had the commitment and skills to work well in interracial crisis conditions. Yet the NEU staff and regional directors knew there were some white consultants who could deal well with the issues of racism and youth oppression in schools. In addition, there were white consultants who made their specialized skills available to the regional teams under certain conditions. Some whites originally involved on these teams were not utilized immediately, and others in addition to those noted above gradually connected to regional teams in ad hoc roles. There was a clear commitment by regional leaders to locate and utilize more of these persons when their skills seemed appropriate and necessary.

We also fell short on having sufficient students on the teams, and were moving to correct this situation before the next series of regional training events. Obviously it is important to have students involved in such activities; we found them highly effective in working with student groups, in providing adult team members with different perspectives on the issues and in influencing the ways adults related to students in schools.

Number of Students in Network

	Dayton	San Diego (2)	San Francisco	San Francisco	Miami	Flint	Total
Students	4	0	5	5	0	3	17

Sexual Mix of Network

	Dayton	San Diego (2)	San Francisco	San Francisco	Miami	Flint	Total
Male	11	10	24	6	17	8	76
Female	5	7	14	7	6	5	44
TOTAL	16	17	38	13	23	13	120

On all teams there was usually a role mix as well, with some persons coming from roles inside the educational system and others from outside. Superintendents, principals, teachers, students, paraprofessionals, community workers, parents and local officials were all included in the various teams. This information on the regional teams indicates their heterogeneous quality and their potential accessibility to a wide variety of school parties.

Dissemination

The Dissemination unit was concerned primarily with creating and responding to external requests for information and appearances by staff members. It also provided a general editorial and library service for the staff.

In materials dissemination activities, a standardized procedure was developed for handling requests and, where appropriate, directing requests to other appropriate resources. Over 1,000 requests for our written materials have been handled to date, with a total of approximately 15,000 pieces distributed to serve the needs expressed.* Materials have been sent to persons in every region in the nation, to 38 states, with the vast majority directed to urban areas. Approximately 50% of all requests have been from staff members of universities and education agencies (Regional Laboratories, Desegregation Centers, Research and Development Centers, etc.), 35% from public school personnel (administrators, training officers, curriculum designers, human relations experts and teachers), and 10% from members of student and community groups and agencies. An annotated bibliography was mailed to everyone who requested materials, and follow up efforts attempted to keep people aware of new items. In many cases we also distributed a questionnaire

*A partial list of our own writings so disseminated appears on pages 79-80 of this report.

soliciting feedback on the relevance and usefulness of the materials. The largest reported uses of these items have been for in-service training programs and staff meetings. Both in terms of the style and content of our writing, and the available channels of dissemination utilized, we have not served well community and student portions of the school population.

In addition to the dissemination of written materials, the staff also visited and made presentations at meetings with various school systems and educational or community agencies. In general, such activities seemed most successful when they were presentations or training sessions that were used as possible jumping off points for change activities in a particular system. The main function of such policy briefings or introductory training sessions was to influence the policies and attitudes of politically powerful target groups (e.g., state superintendents of education and their staffs). In these events we used the latest findings from retrieval or research studies and recent experiences of the NEU consultants. Our goals were to catalyze the school or the system into seriously planning local change programs. When they appeared ready to take the next step, they were referred to the appropriate NEU regional team.

In addition to services focussed directly on school systems, we have made presentations at various meetings of professional educational associations. Clearly the professions themselves must change if they are to help schools change, and some effort in this direction must be made by all concerned. Speeches, discussions and demonstrations reaching several thousand people were conducted with groups such as:

- American Psychological Association
- American Educational Research Association
- State Education Associations (several)
- Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development
- American Association of School Administrators
- National Association of Secondary School Principals

These external appearances indicated that: (1) expert resources for local change activities are generally quite limited and that NEU is one of the major such sources available; (2) there exists a great need to facilitate the delivery of skills to less powerful groups in a system, such as community and student organizations; (3) in order

for dissemination activities to have sustaining power it is vital that the target group be focused and that it has an ongoing life and structure of its own, that sufficient diagnostic work be done prior to an event so as to best indicate the needs of the target groups, and that resources be available for follow-up work; (4) in addition to receiving information and training in system analysis and diagnosis, utilization of power to combat racism and facilitate change, value clarification, etc., target groups need knowledge about and understanding of specific models for innovation that respond to pertinent issues. They require training in "What to do" as well as "How to do it."*

Developmental Component

One of the key resource problems facing ECT was the lack of good available materials that bridged scientific thought and school reality, that connected social research and school change, that denoted the strategic intelligence useful for local change efforts. Therefore, the developmental units and activities focused their energies on the retrieval and creation of such models and materials.

Retrieval

This unit focused on the retrieval and development of innovative models of high schools relevant to our primary objectives. It was felt that new configurations of power, ones in which students and/or students and

*Attempts to provide materials for such skill training in mass form are underway in the preparation of several manuals for skill development. Resources for School Change I: A Manual of Issues and Programs in Training Educational Change, attempts to provide training in issues and organizational skills for persons already involved in educational consultation and change efforts. Resources for School Change II: A Guide to School Administrators focuses on the skills and information needed by school administrators and other professional personnel concerned about change in their local system. Finally, Resources for School Change III: A Manual on Issues and Strategies in Resource Utilization is a guide for educators and community persons desiring to call upon consultants for assistance. This volume points out some of the problems involved in using consultant help in local change efforts, some of the positive potential thereby, and provides information on various organizations that can be called upon.

community members shared significantly, could speak to the needs of decreasing the oppression of youth and eliminating racism in schools. In effect, the purpose of this unit was to retrieve operative models of new governance systems which change efforts could attempt to implement. Rather than conjure up idealistic school models or merely accept the journalistic accounts of the success or failure of certain schools, we decided it was critical to study a small sample of highly experimental public and private schools. Particular emphasis was placed on schools not yet popularized.

The schools chosen for investigation were: (1) a large urban multi-racial Seattle public high school, (2) a mini school within a Berkely (California) public high school that is the first of a number of such small schools in that high school, (3) an experimental public school without walls in Chicago, (4) a mini school within a small public high school in Dillington, Massachusetts, (5) a small private urban Milwaukee school, and (6) a small relatively suburban rural private school in Massachusetts. The primary criteria for selecting schools included an operative innovation in governance structure which enabled students to have high degrees of influence or control and/or an operative community-oriented or directed curriculum. These schools were selected from hundreds screened by our staff and associates.

Each school was visited by a four-person staff team that was both interracial and intergenerational in makeup. This staff spent four days in the school and community, interviewing students, staff, parents and administrators. They also visited classrooms and generally observed the school in actual operation. In addition, they administered a research questionnaire to students and faculty that also was being used by the ECT's NIMH-funded research project. The result is an extensive study including aspects of individual schools' experiences and the ways common issues occurred across schools. Brief portions of 3 cases and selected issues from the Retrieval study follow.*

*Extended versions of these descriptions and analyses are planned in articles in varied magazines and in a book to be published in 1973 by Citation Press, New York City.

Metro High School has 350 students, half black, half white, drawn by lottery from Metropolitan Chicago. There are 21 staff members, of whom approximately 1/3 are black and Puerto Rican. Most staff are under 30 years old with highly libertarian or new left perspectives and values and a deep commitment to the Metro experiment.

Metro is part of the Chicago Public Schools system, but is financed partially by participating organizations in its School-Without-Walls structure. The curriculum is heavily oriented to community need, with a few of the nearly 300 courses taught by Metro staff and many by cooperating agencies in the city. The flexible curriculum was developed in large part through students' interests as well as the availability of resources. The staff places high value on the process of their relationship with students (warm, relaxed, informal), and is reluctant to "rock the boat" by imposing rules, policy and discipline on them. Despite the staff's desire to reach and motivate all students, the organization of learning at Metro is quite problematic for some students. Those students who appear to be utilizing Metro's loose structure to obvious advantage tend to be whites or middle class blacks who are easily socialized into these innovative learning patterns.

Metro is committed to shared power but has not yet evolved a formal structure for achieving it. Neither students nor staff trust a delegate system, so representative structures have all failed. Total school meetings for decision-making also have failed on a continuing basis, except during various crisis when active and full participation of students complemented the staff's efforts to deal with the crisis. The year 1970-71 saw most governance matters in the hands of the faculty in after-school committee meetings which students were encouraged to attend, although few did. The principal attends some of these meetings but leaves a tremendous amount of the day-to-day governance of the school in the hands of faculty.

Despite the lack of a formal faculty-student body to govern the school, Metro students feel they have a great deal of personal power to get their interests met through courses, activities and so on. They also feel tremendous trust in the faculty to make decisions on their behalf because of their warm and personal relationships. Students see their personal autonomy as well as the faculty's humanistic values as better guarantees of shared power than a formal internal governance structure with a delegate system.

A formal structure is emerging, however, for external governance. Participating community organizations have formed a not-for-profit Council to receive and distribute monies directly to Metro and thereby bypass the city Board of Education. A Policy Board that is representative of staff, students, parents,

administration and participating organizations has begun to be the official negotiating agency and liaison with the Board of Education. It is accountable directly to the General Superintendent, rather than to the Central Staff personnel with whom the principal has to deal with until now.

Milwaukee Independent School is a private school located in a downtown office building. It appears to be an informal, relaxed friendly place, with a tremendous amount of acceptance and individuality among the 43 students. White middle class students started the school and the current staff and student body is all white. After applying to attend and after being accepted, students have to earn \$300 (\$25 a month); parents are encouraged to pay \$300 additionally. Seven of the staff share the tuition receipts (after the rent is paid); three are not paid.

The staff offers courses based on their own interests or on requests from students. Other people in Milwaukee, many from the University of Wisconsin, offer their services for classes, discussions and apprenticeships which students can pursue. There is a list of "minimum expectations" which suggest that a student do an individual project, take two group courses, attend the general meetings, have periodic discussions and progress checks with a staff member. But school policy states that people will not be held to this if they do not choose to. Evaluation of student progress is conducted jointly by students and teachers. The same mutual feedback process is used in evaluating teachers. Both academic growth and social relationships are utilized as criteria for both groups.

MIS was started in February, 1970 by two key students, some others who planned to quit school and attend MIS and a few selected adults. A professional director of the school was hired, but his adult-oriented values created a student-adult coalition that forced him from power. Students plan the year's activities, hire staff members and select other students from a waiting list.

Decisions are most often reached through a consensus of the weekly General Meeting, MIS's key governing mechanism. This Meeting is an open forum for student and adult discussions, disagreements and proposals. Sometimes, "depending on time and temperament," a vote is called for and 3/4 of the students and staff present can pass something. In 1970 the staff did not have votes; in 1971 they do. Small groups meet regularly to debrief or plan for these weekly meetings, to have personal discussions and to integrate learning and political activities.

Franklin High School is a multi-racial inner city school in Seattle. Of 1,550 students, 46% are white; 26% black, 24% Oriental, 3% Filipino and 1% Native American. There are 90 teachers, including 79% whites, 13% blacks, 5% Orientals, 1 Filipini and 1 Chicano. While it is a comprehensive school, its curriculum is geared toward academics, since 62% of the graduates go on to college.

In 1969, participants in various in-service workgroups began planning to change the school in the direction of a system of shared power. A year later the Senate was designed, its constitution was approved and elections were held in the fall of 1971. The Franklin High School Senate began its work in February of 1971 and has dealt with the following issues: 1) smoking rules and areas for students and adults; 2) narcotics agents in the school; 3) extortion; 4) organizing support for the school levy; 5) planning for a restructured day; and 6) desegregation by participation in a voluntary racial transfer program.

Although the Senate does not formally abridge any of the principal's stated powers, there is an informal working agreement between him and its members, and he actively supports the Senate. Yet he can veto any of its decisions. The Senate has 33 members, including the ex-officio membership of the Principal. Half the remaining members are students (16) while others include 9 teachers, 5 parents and 1 representative of the non-certified personnel. The main sources of information about the Senate's activities are the school newspaper and the Senate minutes, which are distributed weekly. Communication is limited, and few members of the school consider themselves well informed about the Senate. Many senators are discouraged by their low visibility to date.

The Senate has encountered little or no resistance after each decision, and so has not yet tested the extent and limits of their power. They experienced their start-up phase as discouraging, but were wrestling with how to extend participation to a larger and more representative mix of the school's participants.

All six schools are doing some similar things, yet some very different plans have been laid and have led to varied outcomes. As noted earlier, student power or increased student influence was a generating concern in all cases. Student influence clearly has increased--in some instances in informal ways and in other instances on a formal level as well. Community High and Metro are clear examples of increased sense of autonomy and influence on the part of the students. Sudbury Valley and Dillington's School in a School provide greater autonomy to students without

related increases in influence. At Franklin the concern was more directly with sharing formal power rather than increasing student autonomy. MIS is the clearest and most advanced example of student control. In general, student power or control seems most advanced in those instances where students played a large part in the initiation of the school. The private schools also appear to have moved further in the direction of formal student control, probably because they have less of the traditional professional control system to wrestle with on a daily basis.

These cases also make it clear that student power cannot be increased markedly in managerial areas without complementary increase of control in academic or professional areas. The context of school is set by academic and professional standards; as long as degrees, grades and behavior are sanctioned by these forces, they control a great part of students' lives. Control over the nature and behavior of the teaching staff is a prime interface between these two arenas of school power and generally highlights just where the power lies. Thus, student power over teachers--to evaluate and hire staff--is a crucial determinant of the ability to equalize power imbalances in schools.

One central aim of student power is to provide students greater control over their own needs and activities in school. As a result of this impetus for autonomy, all schools found themselves struggling to resolve the dilemma of "doing your own thing" versus "sharing with peers" or "working for the good of the collective unit." A genuine individualism of interests was often found, although subgroup or cultural pluralism reflecting collectivities of individual interests was usually lacking. These issues are especially poignant in all new social systems attempting to integrate and serve both individual and collective priorities. Individualism also is important as a key cultural priority among many middle class youth--the main consumers of some of these alternatives. When survival of the collective unit appeared to be at stake, all rallied around and depressed individual priorities; in time of affluence and sustenance for the school, students pressed again their highly individual priorities.

The contrast between individual and collective priorities stresses the further problem of maintaining or creating a pluralistic or anti-racist school. Pluralism always is difficult to create in the midst of

a monolithic culture, but the attempt is worthwhile recording nonetheless. Student and staff populations were all-white at MIS and Sudbury Valley, and while the other four schools had racially mixed students and staffs their curricula and organization did not venture considerably in a pluralistic or anti-racist direction. White control predominated: black students had the greatest difficulty working in the white-oriented Metro school. Some black students at Community High formed their own tribal unit and left the school to form "Black House"--a separate black alternative; the program within Community High simply was not interracial enough to meet the needs of many minority students--and many white students did not wish to alter their own priorities. All the interracial schools lacked sufficient black or other minority staff to create a truly multi-ethnic support system. Nor did pluralism exist on a social class level within these schools; middle class values dominated curriculum content, and organization and career guidance patterns. Because pluralism is difficult within any single unit, planning across larger units may be required to make plural alternatives possible--as in the case of Berkeley, where Community High is one of several system-wide alternatives.

It was difficult for these schools to share formal control because of some of the dynamics of the innovation process itself. Despite efforts apparently to the contrary, the persons or groups who originated the schools generally retained a great deal of power. In Community High and Dillington's SIAS the founding adults, teachers, still had primary control; in Sudbury Valley the founder was still the director. Students joined some teachers in initiating the Senate at Franklin, and that original group still dominated the scene. The Urban Research Corporation, parent originator and funding channel of Metro, retained power beyond the time it planned to, partially because teachers continued to treat it as the leader. Control rested in students' hands only at MIS: students started the school and then brought in adults. Of course all those schools in the public system are ultimately controlled by that system.

Another dilemma facing many of these schools is their unclarity about basic goals. For the most part, the hope for a release from op-

pression of youth through new interpersonal and organizational processes was the spark that led them on. Seldom did other educational or social goals—a new curriculum, anti-racist education, community reform—provide the generating impulse. As a result, varied political perspectives were present in each school, and at certain times grave splits arose over matters of central purpose. Splits at that fundamental a level sapped schools' strength to be an effective alternative.

Some of these schools quickly were seen as a success by their constituencies. Moreover, they were useful staging points for administrators seeking easy ways to deal with deviant students. As a result, some grew quickly, and grew to rue that rapid growth; the pace of change generally was not managed well and many participants talk about the need for slower and better planned growth rates in the future.

The two private schools clearly had fewest problems interfacing with the rest of the school system. The four public alternatives constantly had to hassle their new intergenerational styles, loose learning systems and credit programs with representatives of the traditional apparatus. In several cases, students and staff had to endure resentment and disrespect from the old schools. At the same time, powerful administrative support from the traditional system was necessary and forthcoming and helped meet other political resistance and gain initial legitimacy and protection. As they broke from the old system, some students and staff expressed and created considerable alienation and isolation from old patterns and institutions, and some had subsequent difficulty in maintaining important collaborative links. In a similar vein, parental involvement was a critical problem; one whose solution is essential in maintaining the constituency for a viable alternative to the traditional school operation. Students need greater home support as they try an innovative educational model, and each school tried hard to generate that support in collective programs and individual conferences.

These issues highlight some of the generic problems and opportunities involved in pioneering educational alternatives. Drafts of case studies or summaries of issues have been utilized at Network training

events and in a variety of dissemination activities. The early thinking of this group also involved mutual discussions of the variables and materials used by the research component and the sessions of the Conceptual Workgroup. Our more complete reports, which deal with school descriptions of these schools and their issues in greater detail, will be disseminated more widely.

Conceptual Workgroup

The Conceptual Workgroup concentrated on several key issues that cut across ECT priorities and activities. Members of the Workgroup also were members of other units, in most cases unit leaders, and thus they were in touch with issues from different vantage points. Key topics were solicited through internal canvassing of both the Workgroup and other units. The major issues upon which the unit focused most attention included: (1) institutional racism, (2) professionalism in education; (3) common assumptions about organizational change, conflict and change.

The group's typical procedure was to start with discussions of informal working papers in each area--some written internally and some gathered or reprinted from external scholars. Then, summaries, articles and bibliographies were developed for further reference and internal use. As a result, a number of the items disseminated later were developed in this manner. In addition, the Workgroup helped develop the list of assumptions guiding NEU training and some of the key variables to be investigated in the retrieval and research studies.

The existence of the Workgroup helped ease the conceptual crisis present in most action oriented organizations. Given our heavy involvement in field training events and consultations, the Workgroup played a vital role in helping to make sense of our experiences and to search for more fundamental issues and meaning in our work. At the same time, it helped translate research and developmental efforts into new and better field designs. Thus, a vital link in the integration of action and research was forged in the discussions and writings of this group.

Two other important portions of the developmental component were supported by funds from the Ford Foundation. The Foundation sponsored

units which enhanced and augmented the activities of both the action-field and research components by (1) creating and field testing simulation exercises which were utilized in our field work; and (2) providing scholarships or internships to graduate students being trained in the development of a new curriculum in the applied behavioral sciences.

Simulation Development

The staff of this unit conducted library research on simulation exercises, made contact with other major simulation centers across the nation, and prepared an annotated bibliography of simulation exercises with potential utility for our action work with schools. When a search of the literature indicated no available school simulations with a focus on conflict in areas of major interest, e.g., client-centered consultant relationships and multiparty bargaining as applied to school system role groups, we developed, field-tested and evaluated two new simulations (TAS - Triangles and Squares and BANG - Bargaining and Negotiations Game). Both are now in use in the action work, and several other games have been modified for our special use.

TAS is an exercise highlighting dilemmas of the client-consultant relationship and the needs and dilemmas for the latter in developing an advocacy approach. Field tests conducted with differing populations led to improved versions of the game during the year. Evaluations to date indicate that it is a highly involving exercise which succeeds in sensitizing participants to many of the problems of intervention with complex organizational structures.

The major development phase of BANG has been completed and it, too, is ready for use. Preliminary evaluations indicate that although it is a lengthy exercise (takes 12 to 14 hours to play), it is extremely involving for participants who have learned a great deal about bargaining procedures and techniques, planning and revising strategies, group-on-group power relations and both personal and institutional racism. Further, indications are that the model of serial and bilateral bargaining developed in this simulation has significant potential as a type of multi-party negotiation. The exercise provides an opportunity for bilateral

negotiations to occur between 2 parties and then to occur between another 2 parties and another 2, serially. The evaluations of BANG were carried out by tests with the staff of our team, in regional NEU training events at the University of Massachusetts and at San Diego, California, and in several dissemination events.

Other simulation materials, which include our revised versions of STAR-POWER, HIGH SCHOOL and SERFDOM have been disseminated through NEU to Regional Teams for their training operations across the country.* In addition this unit also filled requests from individuals in various parts of the country for information about simulation exercises for training and educational purposes.

Professional/Staff Development Unit

We approached professional development issues out of our commitment to provide more systematic training programs in applied behavioral science oriented toward graduate students. Clearly there is a need for skilled professionals who can work with school and community members in ways that more directly serve the public need. Some of our work in this area was conducted within NEU; but University graduate programs also must adopt new procedures and perspectives. The University oriented training program of the ECT was working toward the following objectives as they relate to school change;

- (1) creation of plans and guidelines for a graduate and undergraduate curriculum to develop action and research skills in applied behavioral science.
- (2) provision of financial support for several graduate student internships within the above framework.
- (3) linkage to and attempts to influence other graduate programs in the University of Michigan.

In line with these objectives, stipend funds were utilized directly to support eight different graduate students over the 2 year period. An experimental curricula base was established by providing supervised work programs under senior staff personnel in several Team sub-units.

*For further information on these materials, as well as TAS and BANG, communicate directly with Dr. Anita Lohman or Dr. John Lohman, 1765 Conifer Drive, Lake Oswego, Oregon.

Graduate students worked primarily with the network, but also with retrieval and dissemination activities and in several pilot change projects with local communities. These students' experiences also have been used to support innovations in graduate training in several University departments and to begin several new programs. Plans are underway to design new conceptual bases for such curricula, and to generate training programs consistent with this experiential history and these future conceptual developments.

Research Component

The discovery of new knowledge about schools through basic research is clearly an important priority. For an organization such as ours it was a crucial component of effective action-research. We tried to meet this need through a process of retrieval and communication of ideas with other social scientists and through keeping abreast of new developments in the field of educational research. In addition, NIMH funded the Team to conduct a research study directly relevant to the developmental and action components previously discussed.

Longitudinal Study of Crisis and Conflict in High Schools*

This unit studied 17 high schools, in 6 states, which experienced different levels of disturbances: about half of the schools experienced serious crises, the other half experienced tension but not necessarily widespread disorder. The purpose of this study was to investigate systematically a series of variables which emerged from over three years of research and action by Team members. These findings were utilized in various Team activities and have broad relevance for understanding the dynamics of secondary schooling.

The immediate significance of the research project was that it enabled us to determine clearly key aspects of the organizational struc-

*Activities of this unit have been reported in: Facts and Feelings: High School Students, Teachers and Administrators Give Their Opinions. Ann Arbor, High School Research Project, Educational Change Team, 1972. And: Structural and Psychological Factors in High School Conflict. Final Report of National Institutes of Mental Health Project #RO-1-MH-18014-01, Ann Arbor, Michigan, Educational Change Team, 1972.

tures of schools: the relation between conflict and crisis and school operations, the ways in which students, teachers and administrators perceive and respond to each other and to the organization, the nature of institutional racism in schools. As we begin to understand the issues in school social and organizational structures that lead to the initiation of disturbances, as well as the reactions of students, teachers and administrators, we should be able to understand better how to make constructive changes in our high schools.

To provide for the most deliberate and sensitive research on these issues, the project used a variety of methods of study. Students and faculty in these schools responded to a colorful and interesting questionnaire in 1971 and were surveyed again in the spring of 1972. Each survey was accompanied by personal interviews with a small number of these persons. Each school also received feedback of the results of the research to date. This feedback to schools was done in oral and written form, so that it reached all major groups in the school; student, teacher, parent and administrator.*

There were 3 major uses by the Team of the conceptualization and data analysis activities of this unit: (1) interpretations of detailed descriptions of the nature of conflicts and crises in order to enhance our theory and diagnosis of schools; (2) repackaging of the data so it could be used in training materials; and (3) dissemination of preliminary and final products in forms that could be utilized readily by Network teams attempting to change schools as well as by individuals and community groups that shared our orientation toward school change.

Management and Governance Component

The governance of the organization proceeded as had been planned originally, with a departure from the traditional hierarchical form so common in corporate and academic systems. As suggested in the design, representation on the Policy Board, the final inhouse decision-making agency, was obtained from persons of all roles and statuses within the

*Facts and Feelings, op. cit., represents feedback across all schools. In addition, each school received multiple copies of feedback tailored to their unique data and situation.

organization, including the minority caucus and the women's caucus. The senior staff maintained more representation than any other status, although this was reduced during the year. At no time during the year did the senior staff, per se, hold the balance of voting power on the Policy Board.

The entire programmatic effort of the Team was directed by this unique organizational structure. The political thrust of this model was reflected in the role groups' constituencies and especially in the two caucuses, each of which had representatives on the Policy Board who were concerned with protecting the interests of their constituencies. The administrative portion of this model was reflected in the work of two co-managers directly responsible for all administrative matters. They were supported by two staff members in charge of the accounting system and all financial, personnel and administrative details necessary to function within the University of Michigan.

The principal investigators remained formally accountable for the Team's activities to the USOE and the relevant portions of the University. They delegated operational power to make all decisions, however, to the internal Policy Board, and agreed to be bound by the decisions of that Board. At no time did any principal investigator renounce his full personal responsibility for Team procedures or outcomes, although the decision-making process was in no way theirs to control. The only other responsible posture would have been to request changes in the form of the contract, an alternative explicitly rejected both by the University and the USOE.

This governance model proved to be a dynamic, creative force which, while not without its problems, served to keep the organization more honest than most and constantly changing and growing. All meetings of the Policy Board (with the exception of personnel evaluation and salary review) were open to all members of the organization. When major issues were being confronted, role groups and caucuses held special meetings to hash out their positions and inform their representatives of those positions.

As the year progressed, an enormous amount of work was produced by the Team. The nine sub-units were all in high gear. New staff were hired,

research was carried out, developmental work proceeded apace, training and dissemination conferences were conducted across the nation, policy briefings were held in state agencies, universities, professional conventions, etc. At the same time the Team experienced the combined pain and joy of its own growth and the evolution of its goals. We came to closer grips with the realities of our own institutional racism and tried to eradicate it from the organization. Our hiring practices underwent a drastic change; by August, 1971, 25 of the 60 persons who constituted the membership of the Team, were from black or brown minorities. The co-managers were an interracial team and the major action unit (NEU) operated under minority control. The Policy Board approved a shift in goals with the highest priority placed on the attempt to eliminate institutional and other forms of racism from high schools.

On several occasions minority consultants were very helpful in raising issues with the Team. One of the primary events to influence us in this direction occurred when the Network brought together 20 outstanding black, brown and white educators, organizational theorists, and school and community change agents. The purpose of this meeting was to design and implement an intervention network consisting of regional teams. It became very clear during the conference that these consultants felt the major cause of school unrest was racism and that the racist nature of our educational institutions not only oppressed minority group and poor white students, but also the white middle class students who were being socialized to maintain the system and continue the tradition of a white supremacist society. It also became clear that the most oppressed truly understood the system best; that those who had been victimized by it, who had not shared equally in its rewards, could best diagnose its ills and with clarity provide the leadership to heal them. The blacks and browns in that conference had the clearest insight into the national crisis in education, and they were the most inspired, creative and committed when it came to designing strategies for change.

Blacks, browns and whites alike at that conference unanimously recommended minority leadership and control of the Field Action Component both at the regional and the Ann Arbor level. Black and white ECT staff

who were conveners of the conference and who also participated, concurred. After the conference, the ECT Policy Board unanimously approved a resolution to that effect. The approval of that policy signalled much greater efforts, within our staff relations as well as in our work, to focus on the eradication of racism. But public commitment to these goals did not necessarily create a new reality inside the organization. The Policy Board and the management team constantly exerted leadership in moving to new staffing patterns, new definitions of work, etc., but resistance continued to occur among some members of the organization. Some progress was made, much more needed to be made.

Self Study

One unit in the organization had the explicit task of documenting the development of the organization itself. We felt such study was extremely important for a number of reasons:

- (1) we were continuously changing at a very rapid pace and needed some clear notions about how our recent past related to present work;
- (2) our organization represented a relatively unique attempt to meld different tasks and models into one organizational form. By documenting our effort we hoped we could be helpful to others attempting similar work.

The major foci of this self-study were the evolution of our decision-making structure, the relationship between the internal decision-making structure and external colleagues and clientele, the types of formal and informal conflict resolution that enabled the organization to survive, and the relationship between our own organizational conflicts and the organizational change work we were doing in the high schools.

The interracial staff of this unit had access to all meetings and caucuses, as well as all written materials, memoranda and meeting minutes. In addition, they conducted an interview study of the staff's attitudes on the above issues. Through their work we were able to document the successes and failures that contributed both to our survival and our demise, and that may make it possible for others to learn from our experience. The report of this unit has been organized around several major themes and is integrated into other reflections and perspectives in section V.

V. Major Issues

The experience of the ECT has provided members with some insight into issues involved in building new organizations designed to bring both intellectual resources and action skills to bear on major social problems. ECT's approach was to involve itself with, not to avoid, the many conflicting forces that create the context within which social problems occur. Traditional academic organizations, even those that concern themselves with research and analysis of social problems and social change, do so from a distance. They seldom become directly involved through their internal structures and processes with the issues faced in the field. By choosing a different path we encountered the problems of racism and racial coalitions, shared power and participatory governance, a wholistic approach implemented by autonomous units needing integration, action efforts and research endeavors, large scale operations and a value centric basis of membership.

It was our initial desire to create an organization to facilitate social and educational change which itself could incorporate meaningful and effective relationships and structures responsive to those forces which determined the broader issues. Our organization tried to include innovative structures and practices relevant to those same forces which threaten to destroy the educational system. The social problems then became the internal problems of the organization as well as the external problems it sought to change. Perhaps a brief sharing of some of the major issues confronted in this process will be helpful to colleagues and to other organizations already involved in or planning similar efforts.

Participatory Governance

Most organizational governance structures are hierarchical in nature. Leadership styles and management practices may vary, but basic governance structures usually provide for a vertical chain of command with final decision-making power held by one person in a central or key position. It seldom matters that the key person or persons responsible

may have limited knowledge of the issues involved in a major decision, or limited concerns about the consequences for a variety of others of the action taken. Participation in and control of major decisions are not necessarily in the hands of the members most qualified or concerned, but in the hands of those at the top of the hierarchy. This organizational pattern is no less true of universities and educational institutions than of any industrial or governmental system.

However, when organizations have highly and overtly value-centric goals incongruent with the societal majority, these traditional forms are unlikely to be effective. When key individuals differ and often conflict in their backgrounds, races, self interests, resources and skills, other means for governance must be found. The integration of such diversity is crucial to a highly coordinated and effective working team and the achievement of organizational goals. Clearly the moral and strategic imperative of our organization--the nature of the work on race and power in schools and the need to integrate and utilize diverse resources to pursue this work--mandated creative experimentation with participation and governance. We are convinced similar mandates will occur for other mission-oriented organizations related to social movements for change and made up of creative and committed scholars and/or activists. The old ways of hierarchical structure and stratified distributions of power are being challenged--not just in high schools, but in universities and communities and other organizations as well.

The ECT had a number of concerns such as the above in mind as it began to experiment with a different governance model. Some of these concerns were: (a) to create a dynamic and evolving organization capable of changing itself to meet the evolving requirements of its work; (b) to be organizationally responsible and effective in meeting legitimate external demands of funding groups and diverse client groups; (c) to provide for continued professional development of its members according to their interests and the organization's needs; (d) to create an organizational climate that was humane and professionally rewarding to its membership and which would result in members' commitment to the organization and its work; (e) to create an organization which could integrate the diverse backgrounds and skills of its members in service of very specific, concrete goals.

It is clear that the ECT did not attain all these objectives. We were constantly confronted with the need to find a balance between various polarities. Some of the major issues around influence and governance that we often found ourselves confronting were:

- (a) unit autonomy and freedom versus coordination and quality control across units.
- (b) democratic participation in decision-making and creatively utilizing conflict versus time constraints and other work pressures. An open influence structure encouraged the surfacing of issues, sometimes in the form of escalated interest group representation. Thus, participatory governance tended to create overload and we had to find ways to reduce it. In essence, we experienced difficulty confronting internal political issues without threatening to destroy our ability to fulfill overall objectives.
- (c) policy making with high participation versus administration with more limited participation and established parameters. A continual issue in ECT was the boundaries of decisional areas and organizational locations for high participation. In some areas of the organization there was low member participation in decision-making and these areas could be seen as the products of either organizational necessity or of controlling elites.
- (d) encouraging team members to think and behave in an organizational context versus supporting members to seek individual growth and satisfaction. The opportunity for participation in decisions, with its attendant opportunity for the expression of individual values and goals, provided the potential for the expenditure of time and energy in pursuit of tasks unrelated or peripherally related to the organizational mission. This dilemma was heightened by changing values of the organization and of members, and by diverse initial selection procedures.
- (e) action on the basis of close interpersonal bonds versus responding to organizational roles and performance. The senior staff became socially quite close and networks of personal relations had varied impacts on political issues and coalitions. Further, problems arose regarding the difficulty of giving negative performance feedback to colleagues who were also close friends.
- (f) task fulfillment versus effective interface with University and agency associates. Throughout our work, its very definition, as well as our internal organization, alienated us from major institutions with which we were required to interact and be dependent upon. In many cases we found our internal dilemmas multiplied by the problems of such institutional interface. Few external colleagues seemed to

care about or support our organizational innovations, and some deliberately sought to ignore or frustrate this operational mode.

All organizations probably experience these dilemmas: some try to focus on them explicitly, others do not.

Anti-Racism and Minority Leadership*

The issues that developed in relation to racism and minority leadership in our organization were many and difficult. As it is in schools, this was the most difficult and least known set of problems we had to confront. As we have stated, minority-majority shared leadership operated only through the last stages of the project. Minority control of the action network was deemed crucial and implemented earlier. Some of the major issues that developed and demanded constant problem solving included: discovering white racist behavior and organizational structures and changing them; utilizing minority and majority resources in a coalition; and rewarding minority leadership realistically for their contributions.

A major issue whites needed to face in our work on issues involving racism was their own racism simply because they grew up and had been socialized in a white racist society. Whites were the privileged: they got the better education, better paying jobs, higher organizational positions and the lion's share of other rewards the society and university had to offer. Most staff members felt their values were diametrically opposed to racism, but old, often unrealized patterns of self-interested racist behavior persisted. And such persistently racist behaviors were covertly supported and encouraged by institutions such as the University.

The University's standard criteria for job roles did not include attention to a person's ability to deal with racism in an interracial situation; neither did typical University performance evaluations and promotion procedures; and neither did the usual pattern of relating to organizational leaders. Both with regard to personnel procedures and general management operations the inexorable workings of the white

*Some of the implications of these issues are dealt with in greater detail in: Bryant, B. and Crowfoot, J. Central issues in a multi-racial organization. In R. Terry, Active New Whiteness. Grand Rapids: Eerdman Press, 1973.

controlled bureaucracies created barriers to our efforts to develop anti-racist policies and to reward black and brown excellence. Faced with these institutional patterns, it was especially important that our white staff recognize they automatically were involved in racist behaviors and institutional practices. Only then was it possible to discover, confront and change these behaviors in ourselves and with client groups.

Whites in subordinate roles on the Team sometimes were uncomfortable and unwilling to follow minority leadership and direction. Whites in leadership positions sometimes had a hard time knowing how to make their resources and skills available without conflicting with blacks over power. Their own needs for leadership and control often got in the way. Some whites withdrew too far under these circumstances. Some levied bitter criticism and sought to sabotage and derogate black leadership internally. Some tended to become so sensitive to the issues that they overreacted. The lack of consensus or clarity about organizational goals around racism made it even more difficult to deduce coherent anti-racist practices. All of us needed to learn more about how to make resources and skills available without trying to take control to escape, or be overly concerned that we would be seen as doing so. The ECT also needed to deal better with internal objections to anti-racism as a priority goal and to minority control as a partial leadership mode. Our own problems, as well as the University's unpreparedness and resistance to minority leadership, made these anti-racist efforts fall far short of our goals.

In none of these arenas of work on anti-racism and minority leadership could ECT's efforts be called a success. But beginning attempts at shared leadership of the team and minority control of the Network on Educational Unrest clearly were effective. Included here is a list of relevant issues that were shared in white caucus meetings and used by NEU for discussion in a conference of white network members.

1. Letting go of white control - It is assumed that most whites in minority-led units or organizations will not have formerly worked under minority command. They will not know how to relinquish old patterns of majority dominance.

2. Unfamiliar leadership and decision-making styles - Cultural differences exist between leaders of social movements and leaders of stable bureaucracies. This means that many whites trained in white-controlled bureaucracies will encounter unfamiliar leadership and decision-making styles which are at least partly based on racial differences.
3. Rationale for minority control - An issue in the organization's or unit's interaction with the environment is the question of why, out of many possible patterns of interracial collaboration and coalition, is this one being used.
4. Your role, and the use of resources on which it is based - In a minority controlled organization there is a great potential for ambiguity in roles for whites. As the same time, it is assumed that you are in the minority led or controlled organization because you can contribute to its activities. Since whites are not controlling the agenda or plans the use of white resources comes under minority control.
5. Interracial relationships - Minority controlled organizations, like other forms of interracial coalition, make possible new kinds of relationships. The reality of these relationships often raise dilemmas for whites.
6. Support for your work and feelings in a minority led or controlled activity - This new situation reverses deeply held patterns and gives rise to confusion, anxiety, passivity and anger in white people. You may be all alone, without friends or other situations that help you deal with your new experiences. Relations with other whites who are in or understand this situation are crucial.
7. The goals and activities of your organization or team has a place within the movement for racial justice - Your activity is only a part of a large and complex movement for racial justice; this context poses some dilemmas for whites who want immediate payoff and reward.

Action, Research and Development*

In an organization where social scientists, social change agents and practitioners are brought together there is always a conflict of

*Some of the implications of these issues are discussed in greater detail in: Guskin, A., and Chesler, M. Partisan diagnosis of social problems. In G. Zaltman and B. Schwartz, (eds.), Perspectives on Social Change. New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1972.

priorities around research and development versus field action. The effort to bring about social change needs research and development support, not only diagnostic studies of the causes of school unrest and crisis, but also measures of the effectiveness of specific interventions, training designs, etc., in relation to specific school settings, populations and issues. At the same time, when schools are in crisis, when violence occurs, and when calls are coming for help, there is pressure to shift resources from research and development to the action effort. The situation often changes so rapidly that last year's research and development outputs may be obsolete and irrelevant to this year's crisis.

We tried to balance these needs by engaging in a research and development program as well as the action program--furthermore, the Network itself was only in the developmental stage this first year. Such balance is always difficult. Typically, academic institutions create knowledge and resources that fail to be implemented; action agencies often are involved in field programs without the data, tools or designs to do effective work. In our own case, we may have invested too much in research and development, particularly in view of the fact that future funding for action programs was not forthcoming. We expended time, money and energy to select regional teams and to help prepare them for action via retrieval and planning and training conferences. We documented all such efforts and in the process developed a number of highly effective training designs and procedures. We also developed intervention strategies for changing high schools, but did not operationalize them sufficiently to be able to assume their effectiveness. We also undertook long range research on conflict and change in high schools. At the end of the project we found ourselves with plenty of hard data, the products of development work on hand, regional teams prepared for action, and no funds to proceed with the proposed action.

Action programs and research and development programs need to progress in a tightly coordinated relationship, feeding and building upon each other. At times the developmental or research components of our organization served up new priorities for action. The action component, especially through its own evolving work in the field,

constantly required new resources and an attendant shift in priorities from the other units. Coordination and control of this mutual influence process continued to be difficult but workable. Staff members often resented having their needs unmet or their priorities shifted. Conflict between units increased and where this was avoided communication faltered and coordination was not effective. To the extent that the action component exerted substantial pressure for new priorities and resources, the minority control pattern for that unit was resented even more by some whites elsewhere in the organization. Nevertheless, priorities were shifted and evolving needs were dealt with throughout the year.

Interface with the institutional base

The history of ECT makes it clear that the institutional base of an organization like this is of major importance. The academic research setting of the Institute for Social Research simply did not permit our work to exist there. The School of Education at the University of Michigan provided much of the needed autonomy that permitted us to be responsive to our mission. But when internal conflicts threatened the calm of that relationship the School, too, was more willing to sacrifice the Team's mission than to deal directly with problems of racism, sexism and organizational conflict. The broader question, however, is not one of departmental location; it has to do with the very nature of a university. Can a politically nervous, financially pressed and academically constrained university be an appropriate base for an operation such as ours?

One of the key issues is that of a university's political and academic commitments. These commitments seldom permit a large institution to risk itself in politically controversial arenas, arenas that deviate from accepted professional, managerial and majoritarian white values. The inadequate financial structure of the university means careful hoarding of scarce extra funds to assure the fulfillment of traditional functions and support of senior personnel. In our own case we operated on contract and grant money, with no promise of future financial support from the University. Since most of our staff were young, most had no tenure and worked on the institutional edge of survival. A more senior

Team with a more impressive history within the University, probably would have been accorded a more receptive environment--surely they would have been a safer financial and managerial risk. Tenured staff members would not have had to view funds' problems as matters of economic survival, the University would have protected them to a greater extent. The considerable overhead or indirect cost monies made available to the University by virtue of these contracts went into general funds accounts and were not usable, according to the University, for temporary support for our Team. The issue is clear--the University simply was not prepared to risk itself--financially and politically--and young deviant staff members who have not paid their dues, who have not demonstrated their trustability in established terms, cannot expect to find support within the University when times are hard. None of this should be a surprise. The academy's record and commitments on these matters are quite clear, despite occasional rhetoric around innovative and socially reformist programs.

In a number of instances our response to evolving field needs and our attempt to develop internal innovations were delayed, stymied and at times defeated by traditional bureaucratic assumptions and normal institutional racism. For instance, we found it difficult to adequately reward minority group staff with merited promotions and raises commensurate with our view of their contributions. These problems were partly due to the unique nature of our work and the unique roles of minority staff in that work, and partly due to the deviant "credentials" of our minority staff. Minority staff members were checked with an unusual degree of both anxiety and scrutiny. When majority and minority staff members disagreed on key matters to University officials it was usually the minority staff member whose veracity was questioned. When majority and minority staff members both presented themselves in key situations, it was the majority staff member who was listened to and responded to. Clearly, this state of affairs made it even more difficult to share internal control across interracial lines.

It was also difficult to find innovative and professionally supportive accounting and management systems when things got tight. Once again, our unique work and needs made for some "bad fits." Other experiences of this sort created mistrust and irritation, embarrassment, low

morale and lost human resources. Clearly some University actions indicated an unwillingness to accept the recommendations of the project administrators at face value. In some ways this was an extension of the non-trust invested in a young management group; in other ways it was a reflection of the University's discomfiture with a minority oriented program of social action; it was the antithesis of the request for a clear administrative leader who would exercise and accept responsibility. At the same time, our own style and priorities undoubtedly created problems for colleagues and/or service staff at the University.

We do not suspect the University of Michigan to be very unique in these regards. Colleagues attempting similar efforts elsewhere have reported similar strains with universities. If universities in general are not the appropriate bases for such operations, where else should they be quartered?

Funding Implications

How does an organization such as ECT assure itself of adequate funding without total dependency on the funding system? Funding sources are prone to set conditions for funding in order to protect themselves from ineffective work, unfavorable publicity and political attacks. In our own case it seemed clear that as our work became increasingly difficult technically and controversial politically, we eroded the base of support for our program within DHEW. As new officials moved in and out of Washington apparent priorities changed within the federal bureaucracy. The direct focus upon racism and youth oppression, and necessary concerns for minority control and participatory management, nowhere reflected even the rhetoric, let alone the intent, of official USOE policy. In addition, a variety of disagreements on the technical criteria to be used to evaluate a program of this sort, coupled with concerns about our internal operating structures, made the problems of funds continuation very delicate.

Funding agencies have the power to initiate funds for a proposed multi-year program and then delay or cut off further funds. The constant uncertainty was debilitating and destructive for a large project otherwise unsupported, and our field commitments required guarantees

simply not forthcoming. Moreover, any long term operation like ours had and will have a difficult time getting or showing positive results in the middle of its planned life. On the other hand, when money was coming in, other funding sources often wanted to jump on the band wagon. Some we accepted and others we rejected, delayed or tried to broker with other institutions. An organization that accepts large monies is threatened with too rapid a growth, subsequent overload on its key resources and a decrease in the quality of its work. The ECT experienced a full range of these problems.

When an organization involved in fundamental social change operates effectively on "soft" money its members take high risks. The ever present threat of next year's funding not being there lowers commitment and creates anxiety and pressure; the actual cut off creates unemployment as well as the loss of hopes and morale regarding further work on change in the future. Perhaps an organization should not attempt to carry out a meaningful long range program without the positive commitment from its funding source to follow through to completion. Such commitments seldom are forthcoming, however, and when forthcoming can never be guaranteed. That certainly doesn't mean don't try. But trying is highly risky.

How much to try, how much to do

One of the clearest reflections on our own experience is that we tried to do too much. It is not just that we tried to be relevant to too many aspects of schools--we felt that was a necessity to stay responsive to the actual complexity of life in schools. But in addition to the difficult content of our field component, in addition to the innovative developmental work, and in addition to a major research operation we experimented with major new internal processes and difficult interfaces with parent institutions. As a result, life in ECT was never dull; it was almost always provocative and exciting. It also was often painful and tedious, energy draining and frustrating.

Undoubtedly the thrust on anti-racism and minority leadership was vital to survival in the sense of responding to basic issues in the field and in interracial work; clearly the innovations in participatory

governance were important; probably the inclusion of a full range of action, developmental and research activities was efficient; and obviously doing it at a major traditional university was expedient. Doing all this at once made each more difficult, seriously affected our ability to perform our basic mission and contributed along with the other difficulties described above to the eventual demise of the organization.

We tried to do too much. Others, and ourselves, should try smaller pieces. But it is all necessary. Absolutely necessary.

VI. Continuing Resources to Aid Change in Schools

We have described a set of assumptions, diagnostic studies, developmental activities and action programs designed by the ECT to be responsive to the current situation in American secondary schooling. We have not tried to respond to the entire range of issues in secondary schools. However, we selected to focus on what we thought were outstanding issues: racism and youth oppression, and the ways these patterns are created and exacerbated by professionalism and patterns of organizational conflict. These issues needed and still need to be dealt with before any lasting change in high schools can be expected.

We have described the history of the ECT and have tried to be forthright about the Team's resources and limitations, and the kind of responses it could make to some of the crises in American secondary education. We also indicated that the ECT will no longer be funded through federal contracts and grants. Thus, as originally constituted, it no longer exists as an effective potential response to the crisis in our schools.

At the same time, it is clear that crises in American secondary education continue. Underlying issues of racism and youth oppression have not been dealt with adequately in the vast majority of school systems. Dropout rates and attendance may vary, drug and gang behaviors may change, incidents of disruption and explosion may disappear temporarily, but the underlying injustices to minority students' skills and goals, and the underlying constraints upon young people's rights and influence continue.

It is crucial that numerous organizations and agencies begin to develop and provide the kinds of resources described in this report. A great deal of aid is needed to help students and to help schools respond more effectively to the problems that diminish the opportunities for students, and in particular minority students, to learn and grow into a more democratic society.

Some Pre-Conditions for Order and Quality in Schools

The resolution of crisis, the creation of orderly behavior and quality learning in public schools cannot be attained through firm management, vigorous repression of deviancy or creativity, highly constraining norms, police or media supervision or the promotion of rigid rules and regulations. Tight regulations and punishment by educators or intervention by police officials does not help any student to learn. Without learning, and without feeling good about learning, no student reasonably can be expected to be committed to the goals and processes of school. Without the ability to hold the school accountable to himself and his peers, no student group can be expected to have faith in arbitrary school processes. Public order in schools can only be the outgrowth of youth committed to the goals and processes of school life. These goals and processes must mirror students' desires, reward their concern for human dignity, provide them with technical skills and an understanding of their self and society, and conduct these pursuits in the midst of an enjoyment of life and leisure. It is essential that we begin to create in schools these preconditions for order and for quality education. Without these conditions no order will be obtained in the schools or the society, no matter how much good will or repressive force is called into use.

The fundamental alterations required in schools focus, from our point of view, on the twin issues of racism and youth oppression. It seems to us that the foci of all attempts to alter schools must include the advocacy of anti-racist educational structures, procedures, curricula and training programs. The public and universal character of racism in American education should no longer need to be documented or argued; it needs to be changed. Teacher and administrator retraining programs, the development of new curricula, special attention to the cultural pluralism of a local community, new financial systems that provide for equal educational resources, new school structures in which minority students and parents share in the control of the school, and affirmative action plans that racially balance staffs are all options crucial to the development of a coherent program to eradicate racism from American education.

It is further necessary that schools serve youth more directly on their own terms. In the constant battle between the priorities of young people and the priorities of the society, schools predominantly have taken a position in favor of societal socialization to the detriment of the independent and autonomous needs of young people. The terms of this bargain must be redressed, and the needs of young people as they state them and as they feel they exist must be met more directly. A natural consequence of this redress is for the civil liberties and rights due citizens in any public democracy to be extended to students in schools. As clients of the educational apparatus, students should be exerting greater influence and control over decisions about the conduct of schooling. Certainly this is also true of representatives of the local community served by the school. Inside and out, on curriculum matters and on staff hiring and firing, on budget allocations and on program designs, it is essential to broaden the base of power within the school and to innovate in ways that provide young people with a greater measure of control over and accountability from the social institution designed to serve their needs. As we have indicated, there is no better guarantee that the school will serve students' needs than for students to be involved in deciding how their needs are to be served.

These are not the only priorities in changing schools, but they are to us the master variables. Without their change, we think little of value will happen. Moreover, innovation in the area of anti-racism and youth rights and power will necessarily require alterations in other areas such as teaching and learning. Passive students and dominating teachers, rote learning and constraining classrooms are inconsistent with the liberation of minorities and the exercise of student initiative and control. As these priorities begin to be dominant in the school, the teaching-learning processes will necessarily become more relevant and more reciprocal.

Kinds of Resources Needed for Change*

The clear implications of this report and our experience are at least three-fold: (1) various public and private agencies must develop a capacity to respond effectively to the multiple constituencies which make up the school; (2) existing resources need to be publicized widely and made available to student and community groups and local educators before, as well as during, crises; and (3) all persons or groups involved in providing help and receiving help must plan for the political problems of creating change in schools.

Schools operate in general allegiance to the priorities of the society, and they only can be changed by local and regional alterations of these financial, ideological and political priorities. School support is also political--it is laden with values and cannot be neutral. It is our view that certain kinds of support aimed at realizing the twin goals of anti-racism and student advocacy are of the highest priority and should be provided.

The failure of our schools to educate students effectively is consummate and undeniable. The mythology of the profession states that this failure simply does not exist, or if it does exist, is either a temporary aberration or an ongoing reflection of the problems of the young and the community. Surely this is partly so, and we would not want to lay all the blame for failure on the harassed shoulders of overburdened educators. Yet, those educators do operate social structures that continue to manifest and increase the oppression of minority people and the oppression of young people.

For most school people the ultimate panaceas for school change are magic money and a suddenly reformed society. But money alone seems to change little of the things we are concerned with, and no one can wait for the new society. What other social conditions and resources may aid the process of school change?

As the issues and relations among members of the school and between the school and community become better defined and elaborated, political and ideological differences can become clarified. Then organizational

*One effort to provide written resources of this sort are reflected in a series of our recent publications: Resources for School Change, Volume I-III.

structures can be developed wherein issues may be surfaced squarely and accurate assessments made of political strengths. The development and articulation of such political organization represents a resource for school change. Where the organization of school or community or student interests is weak or diffuse, the diversity of individual goals and strategies is likely to make mobilization for action or reaction extremely difficult.

A second resource in the development of new school forms and the advocacy of new policies is trust. Systemic trust requires the assumption that each party's unique interests and desires are legitimate, and that arguments about differences also are legitimate. Such reciprocal trust and respect is not merely a matter of good advertising and cannot be developed very quickly; it is the outgrowth of both good organization and a set of positive working relations over time among people who have agreed to treat each other as peers and have agreed to be interdependent with one another. These relations need to have produced agreed upon outcomes that satisfy all parties.

An effective resource for most poor and/or minority communities and many relatively impotent school groups has been the creation of tension. Although decision-makers may regard tension as an inappropriate and ineffective strategy, it may be most effective for people who feel alienated or otherwise shut out from the centers of decision-making. The resources available to other parties like money, status, interest group organization, or effective political influence may be minimal in student groups or poor communities. When tension itself is disregarded or denied expression it may appear later in the more vigorous form of disruptive power or crisis.

For the advocate of change, effectiveness depends largely on the mobilization of resources that can be translated into new forms of power. Managers utilize power to rule and direct organizations--industries, schools, classrooms--and people who would change an organization also require power. Organization and tension are not merely valuable to change-agents, they are necessary. With them one can develop the strength of weak factions and bring hidden issues to life so that realistic dialogue can occur. With them one can challenge or threaten.

the strength of strong factions and bring hidden deficits to light. With them the imbalance of power may be redressed.

If these are needed resources, how do they become available; how do educators and students find or utilize such resources to aid them in bringing about change? How do they overcome resistance to change, and resistance to the development of new resources? Especially in times of high conflict and tension many educators simply do not have the skills and abilities to respond in creative ways. Even if they would prefer to innovate they may find themselves locked in by their own roles and fears. In order to respond more effectively and utilize new resources, school administrators will require special preparation and training, as well as access to key outside assistance. They will also need more time, energy and courage for planning, organizing and exerting staff leadership than is usually the norm. Perhaps these issues can be illustrated more specifically by listing some of the re-training objectives administrators themselves have suggested:

I need a guide of court decisions relating to school discipline and conduct.

I have weak management skills in the organization and use of personnel. I never studied this in preparation for school administration.

What are the best ways to be honest and realistic with all segments of the community, when the community is split right down the middle?

I need help on the best ways to keep a faculty informed during an emergency.

How can I increase student involvement and power but at the same time avoid the negative reactions that arise from the normal process of frustration?

These are key management skills, and ought to be within the perspective and talents of any school administrator. But clearly they are not. And, where is such training available? Certainly not in most schools of education, themselves the prime training grounds for current managers of traditional, often oppressive schools. These institutions are themselves in great need of change and cannot be counted on as sources of reform for our public schools.

It is clear also that training programs simply are inadequate in themselves to change the face of secondary education. Well trained

administrators also require the commitment and the freedom to create innovative structures, to liberate their own resources and those of teachers, and to engage the expertise and energy of students and community members. Educators must begin to define their roles in ways that involve a conscious move towards change agency in schools. It is passive and archaic to define the role of the administrator or teacher as the ongoing manager of the school or classroom. Far more creative is the concept of manager as creator and director of organizational change. This role definition requires special preparation in at least 3 areas: 1) the development of skills in system change agency; 2) the development of internal systems for educational and political support of needed changes and 3) the development and exercise of considerable risk and courage on the part of the local educator.

The educator who elects to be a strong advocate of school improvement can expect to encounter resistance from forces desiring to maintain the status quo or the priority of their own competing interests. School faculties, portions of the student body, the community, senior administrators and boards of education may all feel adversely affected by needed change. The risks to one's security and tenure are considerable, and an educator who intends to alter or innovate in the face of established traditions cannot afford to be naive about the stakes.

Students and community members also need to define new roles for themselves, roles that press them to influence and advocate change in the school. The passive recipient of service is doomed to receive whatever the professional provides; the active influencer may help determine the nature and quality of services available. Skills and commitments are needed in defining goals and diagnosing educational problems, organizing and mobilizing like-minded individuals in pursuit of these goals, entering into and carrying to completion reprogramming and restructuring of educational organizations, taking high risks and mutually supporting others also taking such risks. Of course, the activity of lay people, of clients, are always suspect and often inadequate from professionals' viewpoints, and it will be more difficult for students and community members to assert a base of legitimate power and challenge and to get the resources necessary to achieve this difficult task.

In addition to the retraining of educators and their clients, it seems to us important to provide skilled consultant help to all parties in schools. One of education's rapidly growing roles is that of consultant to schools, wherein persons trained in human and organizational change make themselves available to aid school change. In many cases educators are quite resistant to these resources and don't wish to employ personnel external to the school system, particularly in times of high conflict within the school. At the same time, many educators feel they generally cannot handle a crisis without some kind of help.

There are many issues to be dealt with in the use of consultants external to the school system. There is no guarantee that a consultant can be depended upon to provide the kinds of resources that the local system needs. Many consultants see themselves as educational professionals. Thus they usually owe allegiance to the person, pocketbook, and perspective of other professionals, seldom to students and community people, and even less often to minority people. Some consultants, however, can make a diagnosis of the system and analyze needed changes in ways that lead them to work directly as a facilitator or advocate of community or student interests. In all cases consultants should be utilized who know the issues in racism and youth oppression, and who are prepared to advocate their eradication. No mere technical overlay of managerial consultation or teacher retraining should distract schools, students, or community members from these twin arenas of needed change.

The decision to utilize a consultant, and the agreement upon the conditions of his entry into the system is a crucial determinant of future flexibility and success in helping to create change in troubled school situations. In most cases the educator or student group seeking help should define their goals and relationships prior to a consultant's entry. Then they will know how to select the right consultant for themselves, and a consultant can decide with whom he wants to work. Moreover, it makes strategic decisions clearer; if the consultant feels that being called into a situation by a school board will alienate him from other parties he needs to work with in a crisis, he can try to gain entry through a different part of the system. No matter how the

entry begins, our own experience stresses the need for a variety of links into the system--with the news media, faculty, parents of students and students themselves--if consultants are to be at all effective. In our own work we have tried to use teams composed of people who can work with various groups in a school system.

Another issue lies in the potential danger that local systems will become dependent upon the resources of external consultants and fail to create new resources in their internal operations. Any attempt by consultants ought to be very sensitive to the need to build ongoing resources internally. This brings us back to the issue of professional educators and student clients seeing roles for themselves as change agents. Ultimately, that is where the ongoing resources for change must be found or created.

Local schools, state departments of education, regional and national offices of USOE-DHEW, Regional Educational Laboratories, Research and Development Centers and Desegregation Centers are all potential sources of consultant help and expert resources for change. Very often these systems fail to share the educational analyses and political priorities specified in this report. It is our feeling these institutions would serve schools even better if they could incorporate such skills and perspectives into their own programs.

The job of creating school change in the interest of minority people and students is vast. It will require the energies of people in many roles, and the resources of many agencies, foundations, or organizations which have the vision and commitment to depart from merely repairing the status quo. For while the best kinds of changes may be unknown, and the best models for the future unsure, it is clear the status quo is already obsolete.

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